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CONTENTS.

No. XVII.

PAGE

Notes on Aristophanes Acharnians 1—578. W. G. Clark. (*To be continued*) 1

On the Character of the Agnatic Guardianship of Minors and Women.—Note on Gaius I. 168. Perceval M. Laurence . 24

The Story of Aeneas' Wanderings. H. Nettleship 29

Note on the *Graeci Annales* of Fabius Pictor. H. Nettleship . 51

On some Passages of Valerius Flaccus. R. Ellis 52

Petronianum. R. Ellis 61

Propertiana. J. P. Postgate 62

On Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 1337—1346. Richard Horton Smith 71

Animal Worship and Animal Tribes among the Arabs and in the Old Testament. W. Robertson Smith 75

Vergili Trojamentum. Aen. v. 560—587. F. P. Simpson . . 101

A Philological Examination of the Myth of the Sirens. J. P. Postgate 109

On a Chorus of the Choephoroe, with Remarks upon the Verb τοπάζω and its Cognates. A. W. Verrall 114

No. XVIII.

PAGE

Notes on Aristophanes Acharnians 1—578. W. G. Clark . . . 165

Catullus 107 7. H. A. J. Munro 185

On the Anthologia Latina. R. Ellis 186

Korax and Tisias. A. W. Verrall 197

Horatiana. H. A. J. Munro 211

Syriac Accents. Geo. Phillips 221

Heraclitus and Albertus Magnus. I. Bywater 230

On Propertius. R. Ellis 235

The Treaty between Rome and Carthage in the First Consulate. Thos. H. Dyer 238

Note on Propertius. F. P. Simpson 251

Traces of Different Dialects in the Language of Homer. D. B. Monro 252

The Roman Curiae. H. F. Pelham 266

On the Genuineness of Tibullus IV. 13. J. P. Postgate . . . 280

Last Words on Lucilius. R. Ellis and H. A. J. Munro . . . 287

Vol. IX. No. 17.

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NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES ACHARNIANS 1—578

(*continued from* Vol. VIII. p. 200).

158. *ἀποτεθρίακεν*] Suidas, three times; Hesychius, Schol. to Equites 1007 and Amb. 1. *ἀποτέθρακεν* Rav., Par. 1, *ἀποτέθρωκεν* (*ἂν* added by a later hand) Laur. 1, *ἀποτέθρωκεν* Barb. 1. *ἀποτέθρακε τίς* Pal. 2, Par. 3. *ἀποτέθρακεν ἄν* the rest. In Pal. 1 a corrector has struck out *ἄν*.

159 sqq. There is no mark of a new speaker before line 159 or 161, in Rav. After *σκόροδ'*, line 165, there is the stop (:) the usual mark of a change of speaker, but no speaker's name after it, and before the next line is a dash indicating a new speaker.

159. *δύο δραχμὰς*] Rav. *δραχμὰς δύο*. Par. 1, Laur. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1, Pal. 2 and Barb. 1. In Pal. 1 and the Aldine ed. we have a mistaken correction *ἐὰν δραχμὰς δύο τις*. In Laur. 2 *ἐὰν δραχμὰς δύω τις*.

160. *καταπελτάσονται*] A word invented by Aristophanes. The meaning is I think not 'to overrun', as Liddell and Scott have it, but: 'These lusty targeteers will subdue all Bœotia'.

The Thracian armies consisted of cavalry ἵππης, swordsmen μαχαιροφόροι and targeteers πελτασταί. But cf. Thuc. VII. 27. These last were armed with a round shield and javelin ἐν πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις Xenoph. Mem. III. 9. 2. So Tereus was represented on the stage. Cf. Lysistr. 563 ἕτερος δ' αὖ Θρᾷξ πέλτην σείων κἀκόντιον ὥσπερ ὁ Τηρεύς. Eur. Rhesus, 310 sqq.

162. μένταν̂] Variously accented in the MSS. Bentley proposed μέντ' ἄν γ' or μέντ' ἆρ'. The former is the reading of Par. 2, and is adopted by Brunck, unnecessarily as the second syllable in μένταν̂ (i.e. μέντοι ἂν) is long by the crasis.

ὁ θρανίτης λεώς] Amb. 1 has θρηνίτης. In the Sicilian expedition, for which, as we may infer from Thucydides VI. 31, the rate of pay was exceptionally high, each seaman received one drachma per diem from the state, and this was supplemented by gifts from the Trierarchs, of which the θρανῖται got a larger share than the rest of the crew, ζευγῖται and θαλαμῖται. This was reasonable as they had the longest oars and the hardest work, and were more exposed to the enemy's missiles.

163. οἴμοι] While Dicæopolis was declaiming on the wrongs of the seamen, the Thracians had filched and eaten the contents of his wallet.

165. The speaker's name is omitted in R. In Mod. 1, Amb. 1 the whole line is given to Theorus: in Par. 1 the first part is given to κῆ. i.e. κῆρυξ. In Laur. 1 a space is left before ὦ.

καταβαλεῖτε] ἀποβαλεῖτε Par. 1, Laur. 1 and originally Mod. 1.

166. This line is preceded by a dash, indicating a new speaker, in R.

ἐσκοροδισμένοις] ἐσκορδισμένοις Par. 1. Garlic was supposed to stimulate the courage of fighting-cocks. So the chorus in Equites 493, 494, prime their champion.

171. διοσημία 'στὶ] Elmsley. διοσημί' ἐστὶ R. and MSS. generally. Corrected to διοσημεῖ ἐστὶ in Laur. 1 and Pal. 1. διοσημία ἐστὶ Suidas s. διοσημία.

172. *ἕνην*] *ένην*, without breathing, R. The other MSS. vary between *ἕνην* and *ἔνην*. Some, as Mod. 1, have been altered to *ἕνην*.

173. *λύουσι*] 'Meminerint tirones *λύεσθαι μὲν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀφίεσθαι δὲ τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια.* Vide Eq. 674, Vesp. 595, Eccl. 377'. Elmsley.

At this point exeunt Prytanes, Thracians, people, &c. Dicæopolis does not leave the stage but the scene behind him changes to an open space in the country with a house on each side, one for Dicæopolis (line 202) the other for Euripides, line 368. The house which serves first as the dwelling of Euripides may do duty for that of Lamachus afterwards. Dicæopolis on his road home is musing regretfully on the loss of his luncheon when he is interrupted by the return of Amphitheus.

176. *μήπω πρὶν ἄν γε στῶ*] Brunck. *μήπωγε πρὶν ἂν στῶ* MSS. This reading, retained by Dindorf, perhaps inadvertently, in his earlier editions, violates the metre. *πρὶν* is never long. After the confusion of the old distinction between accent and quantity such a line perfectly satisfied the Greek ear. Hence a multitude of errors. Bergk reads *μήπω γε πρίν γ' ἂν στῶ.* Meineke *μήπω γε πρὶν ἂν ἑστῶ.* But what is the meaning of *στῶ τρέχων*, or *ἑστῶ τρέχων*? Do we not require *δραμών*? With the present participle it can only mean 'to do the goose-step in double quick time'. There must be some graver corruption. I suggest, but doubtingly, *μήπω γε πρὶν ἂν σωθῶ τρέχων.*

177. *φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν*] Cf. Nub. 167, *ἦ ῥαδίως φεύγων ἂν ἀποφύγοι δίκην*, and Eur. Phœniss. 1216, *ἢν μή με φεύγων ἐκφύγῃς πρὸς αἰθέρα.* This line is omitted, but added in the margin, in Pal. 2.

178. The reading given in the text, which Brunck had seen to be right, is found only in R. Most of the other MSS. have *ἐγὼ μέν σοι δεῦρο.* Par. 2 and Pal. 1 give an obvious correction: *τί δ' ἐστί. ἀμ. σοὶ μὲν δεῦρο 'γὼ* (except that Pal. 1 has *τοί* for *τι* by mistake). This reading was adopted by Aldus and his successors. Elmsley reads *τί ἐστιν; ἀμ. ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι* and in his additional notes prefers *τί ἐστ'*; Meineke reads *τί δ' ἔστ*; In a matter of indifference I think it better to

follow the authority of the best MSS. small as it may be on such a point.

180. *στιπτοὶ*] *στυπτοὶ*, apparently, in R. The writer seems to have hesitated between *υ* and *ι*. *στυπτοὶ* Par. 1, Par. 2. The other MSS. have *στιπτοὶ*, except Barb. 1, which has *στιπτοί*. Bentley unaware of any MS. authority in its favour suggested *στυπτοὶ*, from *στύφω*. The word however does not occur elsewhere, and the Lexicographers are unanimous in favour of *στιπτοί*. Elmsley suggests *στρυφνοὶ* or *στέριφοι*. In modern Greek *στυπτοὶ* and *στιπτοὶ* have exactly the same sound.

ib. Kuster quotes from the Ἀντιοχικὸς or Μισοπώγων of the Emperor Julian the following words which refer to the passage: *πρίνινον σφενδάμνινον, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ* Μαραθωνομάχην *ἀλλ'* Ἀχαρνέα *μὲν ἐξ ἡμισείας, ἀηδῆ δ' ἐς ἄνδρας* (or *ἄνδρα*) *παντάπασι καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἄχαριν*. Part II. p. 78, Ed. 1630.

181. *μαραθωνομάχαι*] *μαραθωνομάχοι* Par. 1. The form *μαραθωνομάχαι* is supported by the above-quoted passage from Julian. In Nub. 986 both the Ravenna and Venice MSS. have *μαραθωνομάχας* (not -*χους*).

186. *οἱ δ' οὖν βοώντων*] *οἱ δ' οὖν γελώντων* Soph. Ajax, 967. Meineke writes *οἳ δ'*... and also in line 179 *οἳ δ' ὤσφροντο*.

189. *ἀρέσκουσίν μ'*] Laur. 2 and Par. 2. All the other MSS. have *ἀρέσκουσί μ'* (a very frequent error). Bekker erroneously says '*μ'* om. R.' Par. 1 has also *τί ἐστι* (for *ἐστὶν*) in this line.

190. *παρασκευῆς νεῶν*] A pun is probably intended here between 'the fitting out of ships' and 'the cooking of new wines' so as to give them an artificial age. We find in Athenæus I. 57, p. 31 E, *πώματί τινι ἐξ ἀρωμάτων κατασκευαζομένῳ ὃ ἐκάλουν τρίμμα*, and I. 58, *περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀνθοσμίου οἴνου σκευασίας*. The word *τρίμμα* in the first passage leads us to suppose that *διατριβὴ* in line 193 may have been a technical word for some trick known to the wine-merchants of the time. Thus is carried on the joke suggested by the double meaning

of *σπονδαὶ*, of which samples are presented by Amphitheus in small phials. So *πεντέτεις*, *δεκέτεις* are samples of wines five, and ten years old.

192. *χαὖται*] *γ' αὗται* Pal. I.

192, 193. These two lines were omitted in R. but inserted by the same, or at least a contemporary, hand in the margin, which Bekker has omitted to notice.

193. *ὀξύτατον*] *ὄζειν*, *πνεῖν* &c. are followed by the neuter singular of the adjective in the positive degree and by the neuter singular in the superlative, as *ἡδὺ ὀξὺ* not *ἡδέως ὀξέως* and *ἡδύτατον ὀξύτατον* not *ἡδύτατα ὀξύτατα*.

194. *γάρ σοι*] This reading was suggested by Elmsley in his additional notes, and adopted by Dindorf in his later editions. R. has *σοι σπονδαὶ*, the other MSS. *σπονδαὶ* only, which Elmsley rightly considered a gloss. Elmsley at first suggested *δή σοι*, Hotibius *σοί τοι*, Dobree *τοί σοι*, adopted by Dindorf, at first, Meineke and others. The confusion has arisen from the writers of the MSS. mistaking the quantity of the *α* in *τριακοντούτιδες*.

197. *μὴ 'πιτηρεῖν*] Hamaker says that *ἐπιτηρεῖν* does not give the required sense and would substitute *μηκέτι μετρεῖν*. Meineke conjectures *μηκέτι τηρεῖν*, taking *τηρεῖν* as equivalent to *σώζειν φυλάσσειν* i.e. 'nicht angreifen'. But *ἐπιτηρεῖν* is quite right if we take *σιτί' ἡμερῶν τριῶν* as the words of the proclamation calling out a contingent for sudden service. See Pax 311, 312, *ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες τοιούτου χαίρομεν κηρύγματος, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἔχοντας ἥκειν σιτί' ἡμερῶν τριῶν*. See also Pax 1182 sqq., and Vesp. 243. Meineke would also invert lines 197, 198 making *μὴ 'πιτηρεῖν* thus depend on *λέγουσι*. But this seems to be an anticlimax, and both the sense and grammar are quite satisfactory without any transposition.

198. *ὅπη*] Amb. 1, Mod. 1, Par. 2, Pal. 1, Pal. 2. *ὅπηι* Rav. *ὅποι* Laur. 1, Par. 1, Par. 3.

199, 201. In R. before line 199 is a dash indicating a change of speaker. In Par. 1 there is a dash both before this line and 201, and no sign of a new speaker before 203. In

Laur. 1, Amb. 1, Mod. 1 and others lines 199, 200 are given to Amphitheus, lines 201, 202 to Dicæopolis. These attempted corrections were due perhaps to the notion that ἐγὼ δὲ must begin a new speech, as several modern editors seem to think. The Aldine reading *κελεύω* for *κελεύων* gives line 200 to Amphitheus; an absurd correction, due probably to the editor.

199. *σπένδομαι*] Meineke suggests *σπείσομαι*. But *ἐκπίομαι* refers to a different object. Dicæopolis means that he will take for his own drinking the whole of the wine of which he has just tasted the sample.

201. ἐγὼ here is not itself emphatic but is used to emphasize the sentence, as in line 300 *ὃν ἐγὼ κατατεμῶ*, 442 *ὅσ' εἰμ ἐγώ*, and 501, *ἐγὼ δὲ λέξω δεινὰ μὲν δίκαια δέ*. Bearing this in mind, we have no reason to reject as spurious lines 201 sqq. with Meineke, nor to suppose with Bergk that a speech of Amphitheus has dropped out after 200, still less to erase lines 201, 202, and substitute 277, 278, reading *σὺ δ' ἢν* for *ἐάν*, with Hamaker. Without these two lines, as they stand in the text, Dicæopolis's exit would be unaccounted for.

202. *ἄξω*] *αὔξω* Laur. 1, and, originally, Mod. 1, Amb. 1, the Aldine and other edd. *ἀυξῶ* Pal. 1.

203. Elmsley proposes to transfer this line to follow line 200, which, if any change were needed, is by far the simplest and best.

ib. *φευξοῦμαί*] Rav., *φεύξομαί* the rest. Both forms were in use and there is no reason to suppose that the former was only employed when the metre required it.

206. *μηνύσατε*] Rav., *μηνύετε* the rest.

208. *ὅποι*] *ὅπῃ* Laur. 1 and originally Mod. 1.

ib. *τέτραπται γῆς*] *γῆς τέτραπται* Par. 1.

210—217. These verses, composed of cretics or first pæons, are divided into five lines as in Bekker. In Rav. there are nine lines and the other MSS. vary. In Laur. 1 *ἡμιχ.* is prefixed to line 210. In Par. 1 a space is left after *φροῦδος* which suggested to Brunck his distribution thus: *ἡμιχ. ἐκπεφευγ'...φροῦδος. ἡμιχ. οἴμοι...οἴχεται. ἡμιχ. διωκτέος ... ἀμ-*

πέλους. ‘Nullus hic hemichorio locus est’ Elmsley. The only guide we have as to the division into lines is that *φορτίον* and in the antistrophic system *ἐσπείσατο* and *ἀντεμπαγῶ* must end the lines respectively.

214. *Φαΰλλῳ*] Cf. Vesp. 1206, *τὸν δρομέα Φάϋλλον.* From Herodotus VIII. 47 and Pausanias X. 9. 1 we learn that he was a native of Croton and commanded a ship at Salamis which he fitted out at his own cost and manned with a crew of his countrymen living in Greece (probably, as Mr Blakesley says, exiles), that he had gained three Pythian victories, two in the Pentathlum and one in the Stadium. The scholiast calls him *Ὀλυμπιονίκης* but Pausanias says he gained no victory at Olympia. The scholiast has preserved the following epigram:

πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φάϋλλος,
δίσκευσεν δ' ἑκατὸν πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων.

216. *διωκόμενος*] *διωκώμενος* Rav.

218. *ἐξέφυγεν*] *ἐξέφυγεν ἂν* Rav. The word *ἐξέφυγεν* though found in all MSS. and in Suidas (s.v. *Φάϋλλος*) was ejected by Elmsley on Bentley's suggestion, in order to make the number of feet correspond with that of the antistrophe vv. 230, 231. But *οὐδὲ* seems to require a verb preceding, and it is more probable that something has dropt out of the antistrophe. Brunck omitted *οὗτος* and *τότε* thus introducing the third pæon, contrary to the metre. Hirschig would omit *ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότε* and read *ὁ διωκόμενος.*

ib. *ἀπεπλίξατο*] *ἀπεπλήξατο* Rav.

219. *ἤδη*] Omitted in Par. 1 and Mod. 1.

220. *Λακρατείδη*] Bentley. *Λακρατίδη* MSS. *Λακρατίδη δὴ* is rightly rejected by Elmsley. His own conjecture *Λακρατίδη γε* is scarcely better. The scholiast, quoting Philochorus, says that there was an Athenian Archon of this name in Darius' time, whose year was famous for its hard winter. Perhaps his year was 487 or 486 for which Clinton gives no Archon's name. Aristophanes merely uses it as an old-fashioned name.

ib. *σκέλος*] *σκέλλος* Rav.

221. *διωκτέος*] *διωκτέως* Rav.

ἐγχάνῃ] ἐγχάνοι Brunck. Pal. 1 has ποτὲ καταγελάσῃ mistaking comment for text, as two lines before for ἀντικνήμιον it reads ἀντιπλίσσοντο πόδεσσι.

222. ὄντας] This word, necessary to metre and sense, is omitted by all MSS. except Laur. 2, Par. 2, and Pal. 1. In these it has been inserted by a happy conjecture. It is found also in the Aldine edition.

230. ἀντεμπαγῶ] Rav. and Suidas (s. v. σκόλοψ and σχοῖνος). This Bentley had conjectured. Laur. 1, originally, and Amb. 1 have αὖτ' ἐμπαγῶ. The rest ἅτ' ἐμπαγῶ or ἅτε ἐμπαγῶ.

231. Various suggestions have been made for filling up the lacuna. Klotz and Holden propose καὶ σκόλοψ ὀξύς, from Suidas (s.v. σκόλοψ) and the scholion (which however is not found in Rav.) ἐπειδὴ οὖν προεῖτε, σκόλοψ καὶ σχοῖνος αὐτοῖς ἅτ' ἐμπαγῶ. Bergk proposes ὀδυνηρὸς ἐπίω τ' ἄν, or θ' ἅμ', from the scholion διὰ νεὼς καὶ ναυτικὸς ὢν ἐπίω αὐτοῖς. Blaydes suggests ὀδυνηρὸς ἀνιαρὸς. As in Klotz's reading καὶ σκόλοψ seems awkwardly separated from σχοῖνος and ὡς or ἅτε would make the sense clearer, we might read πρὶν αὐτοῖσιν ἀντεμπαγῶ σχοῖνος ἅτε καὶ σκόλοψ. Or again we might remove a difficulty of construction by reading τῶν ἐμῶν πανταχοῦ | χωρίων, 'The only plant our devastated farms now produce is the war-wort odiosum'. Each system would then consist of three lines of 6 feet, one of 3 and one of 4.

ἐπίκωπος] 'Up to the hilt' is jocosely applied to σχοῖνος. When Bergk says that the epithet does not suit σχοῖνος or σκόλοψ he must have forgotten many passages of our author, where in the unsuitableness lies 'the reproof of the jest'.

232. πατῶσιν ἔτι] πατῶσι Rav. Brunck who seems to have misunderstood the metre reads πατῶτ' ἔτι.

234. βαλληνάδε] All MSS. read παλλήναδε, except Par. 2 as corrected. Aldus however has βαλλήναδε and the scholiast says νῦν δὲ διὰ τοῦ β γραπτέον. Suidas also recognizes the double reading. Pallene was a town seven or eight miles from Athens near the present monastery of the Kynagos i.e. John

the Baptist. From its elevated position it was conspicuous from a great distance. Besides the obvious pun, there was possibly some allusion to which we have now no clue.

235. *γῆν πρὸ γῆς*] *γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι* Æschyl. Prom. V. 682.

236. *ἐμπλήμην*] Dawes, Brunck and Elmsley. *ἐμπλήμην* Rav. corrected by the writer of the scholia to *ἐμπλείμην*. Laur. 1 and Amb. 1 also had *ἐμπλήμην* originally. Most MSS. have *ἐμπλείμην*, as have Suidas and the scholiast.

238. *σῖγα*] Brunck. *σῖγαι* Rav. *σιγά* Pal. 1. The rest have *σίγα*. Brunck proposes to continue *σῖγα πᾶς* to Dicæopolis.

ib. *ἆρα*] Par. 1, Mod. 1 and Laur. 1, as corrected. The rest have *ἄρα*.

ib. *εὐφημίας*] 'The injunction to keep silence'. Compare the use of *ἀκοὴ*, Eurip. Herc. Fur. 962, *οὐδενὸς ἀκοὴν ὑπειπών*.

240. *ἐκποδών*·] The MSS. have *ἐκποδῶν*.

ἁνὴρ] Brunck. *ἀνὴρ* MSS., a constant error.

242. *προίτω 'ς*] Wolf. *πρόϊθ' ὡς* MSS. except Laur. 1 which originally had *πρόιτ' ὡς*. Meineke retains *πρόϊθ' ὡς*. But *ὡς* as a preposition is only used with persons, and we should require *τὸν πρόσθεν* or *τοὺς πρόσθεν*. *πρόϊθ' εἰς* Brunck. *πρόϊθ' ἐς* Bergk.

244. This line attributed to *μή*. i.e. *μήτηρ* in the Aldine and other edd., is continued to Dicæopolis in the MSS.

245. *Θυγάτηρ*] Indicated by a dash in Rav. *Θυγ.* or *Θυ.* in the rest.

247. There is no indication of a change of speaker in Rav. Par. 1 continues *καὶ … ἔστ'* to the daughter, leaving a space after *ἔστ'*. Brunck followed by Elmsley puts a full stop after *ἔστ'*, governing the infinitives by *δὸς* understood.

248. *σοι*] Omitted by Par. 1, Mod. 1, and Amb. 1.

252. *τριακοντούτιδας*] *τριακοσίους* in Par. 1, originally: corrected by the same hand.

253. This and the following five lines are given to *μή*. i.e.

μήτηρ in Pal. 1, and in the Aldine and other edd. Continued to Dic. in the MSS.

254. *οἴσεις*] Rav., Par. 1, Mod. 1, &c. *οἴσει* Laur. 1, Pal. &c. *οἴσ' εἰ* Pal. 2.

ib. *ὡς*] *ὧ* Rav.

255. *σ'*] Omitted by Rav. and Pal. 1.

256. *ἥττους*] Elmsley's conjecture, adopted by Meineke. Rav. has *ἧιττον*, Par. 1 *ἥττο*, the rest *ἥττον*. Laur. 1 inverts *ἥττον* and *μηδὲν*. Brunck's conjecture *γαλῆς σὲ*, for *γαλᾶς σου*, would require *ποιήσει*, not *ἐκποιήσεται*.

257. *τὤχλῳ*] *τὄχλωι* Rav. *τω ὄχλω* Laur. 1, originally.

258. *τὰ χρυσία*] Cf. Hom. Il. II. 872, *ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πολεμόν δ' ἴεν ἠΰτε κούρη* and Arist. Aves 671, *ὅσον δ' ἔχει τὸν χρυσὸν ὥσπερ παρθένος*. The gold ornaments worn by maidens were probably some of them darics. I have seen in the mountain country of Attica a baby in arms with a string of gold coins old Macedonian or Byzantine round its head. These coins descend as heirlooms and are always worn, I was told, by the youngest daughter of the family.

259. *σφῷν . . . ἐκτέος*] *σφῶν . . . ἐκτέος* Rav. There is no need to alter *σφῷν* into *σοι*. There were two slaves, carrying, as the scholiast says, *ξύλον ἐπίμηκες*.

262. *πρόβα*] Addressed to the *κανηφόρος* who heads the procession.

263. *φαλῆς*] There is a correction in the first letter and an erasure after it in Rav.

ib. *ἑταῖρε*] The writer of Rav. had written *ἑτερε* at first.

ib. *Βακχίου*] *Βακχείου* MSS. Scaliger made the correction in his copy, and Brunck first put it in the text. The lines of this song are divided as in Rav. with the exception of 274, 275. In Rav. the former ends with *αἴραντα* (sic).

266. *ἕκτῳ σ' ἔτει*] Originally, I think, *εἴπω σ' ἑτι*, now *ἕκτω σ' ἔτι*, in Laur. 1. Amb. 1 also reads *ἔτι*.

269. *πολλῷ γάρ ἐσθ'*] *πολλῶν γάρ ἐστιν* Aldus &c.

272. ὑληφόρον] ὑλοφόρον Rav.

273. Θρᾷτταν] θᾶτταν Par. 1 and perhaps originally in Laur. 1.

ib. φελλέως] φαλλέως Par. 1. The older scholiast gives two explanations of the word, first that it was an Attic name for a rocky district and second that it was a mountain in Attica. The former is doubtless right and φελλέως should be printed without a capital letter. Compare Nubes 72, ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὰς αἶγας ἐκ τοῦ φελλέως. Such tracts may be found on the slopes of Parnes, Hymettus &c. Doubtless the owners of the adjacent arable land of the plain had a common right of cutting firewood and pasturing goats.

274, 5. καταβαλόντα] κατω λαβόντα Par. 1, and originally in Laur. 1. κατω βαλόντα, originally, Mod. 1.

275, 6. καταγιγαρτίσαι | ὦ] Brunck. καταγιγαρτῆσαι | ὦ Rav. The rest καταγιγαρτίσαι | ὦ or καταγιγαρτίσ' ὦ.

278. ῥοφήσεις] So all MSS. The form ῥοφήσομαι is found Vesp. 814 and therefore Elmsley would alter ῥοφησεις to ῥοφήσει wherever it occurs, in Equit. for instance where Rav. coincides with all other MSS. in reading ἐκροφήσεις. Both forms may have been in use. We have not evidence enough to decide the point.

280. κρεμήσεται] κρεμασθήσεται Rav. The commoner form written above as an interpretation has doubtless been inserted by mistake in the text. We have κρεμήσεται also in Vesp. 808.

281. βάλλε...] This line is found in the Rhesus line 675. It is probable that the author of that play had this passage of the Acharnians in his mind.

282. παῖε παῖε] παῖε παῖ Dindorf (G. Burges conj.). παῖε πᾶς Bergk. The metre is uncertain, so I leave the reading of the MSS. Otherwise, I should prefer παῖε πᾶς which occurs in the Rhesus 685. Photius says that παῦ was used for παῦε and Elmsley has introduced it, wrongly as I think, into the text of Aristophanes Equites 821. But it is not likely that παῖ would be similarly used for παῖε as it might be confounded with the

vocative of *παῖς*. The old Greeks instinctively shrank from ambiguities.

283. *οὐ βαλεῖς; οὐ*] *οὐ βαλεῖς ἂν οὐ* Pal. 1, Laur. 2, Par. 2, Aldus &c.

285. No mark of new speaker in Rav.

287—292. *τοῦτ’...ἀποβλέπειν*] As six lines in Rav. As five in Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, &c. These lines correspond with 338—340 *ἀλλὰ ... ποτε*.

288. *βδελυρὸς*] *βδελλυρὸς* Par. 1, Mod. 1. *βδεληρὸς* Pal. 2.

291, 292. *εἶτα δύνασαι*] Par. 2, Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Aldus &c. *ἔπειτα δύνασαι νῦν* Rav., Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Pal. 2. It is remarkable that the best MSS. have all a faulty reading due to some transcriber having tried to mend a metre which he did not understand. For *δύνασαι* Hirschig would write *τολμᾷς*, a correction required neither by sense nor metre.

293. *οὐκ ἰστέ’; ἀλλ’ ἀκούσατε*] I have inserted this, my own conjecture, in the text because it seems to me to account better than any other for the corruptions of the MSS. The writers were puzzled with *ἰστέ’* for *ἰστέα*. The MSS. have the following readings: *οὐκ ἴσατ’ ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* Rav. *οὐκ ἴστε*$^{τ’ε}$ *ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* Laur. 1. *οὐκ ἴστε ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* Par. 1. *οὐκ ἴστετε· ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* Mod. 1, Amb. 1. *οὐκ ἴστε γ’ ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* Pal. 1, Par. 2, Par. 3, Laur. 2, Aldus &c. *οὐκ ἴστετ’ ἀλλ’ ἡκ.* Pal. 2.

Elmsley reads *οὐκ ἴστ’ ἔτ’· ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* But the word required is *πω* not *ἔτι*. Dindorf *οὐκ οἴδατ’· ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* But there is no example of *οἴδατε* in good Attic Greek, and the quotation from Phrynichus tends to condemn not support this form. If *οἴδατε* had been used by a single good author he would not have said *ἄμεινον τὸ ἴστε*. Dobree proposed *οὐκ ἴστε μ’· ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* a much more plausible reading. But with so easy a reading, why should any one have misunderstood or tampered with the text? *οὐκ ἴστε. μ’ ἀλλ’ ἀκ.* (i.e. *μὴ ἀλλ’ ἀκ.*) Meineke. *ἀκούσατ’ ἀλλ’ ἀκούσατε* Hamaker, which has been adopted by Müller and preferred by Meineke on second thoughts. But how should *ἀκούσατ’* have been corrupted? Difficilior lectio præferenda.

295. *ἀκούσωμεν*] Elmsley. *ἀκούσομεν* Rav., Laur. 1, Par. 1,

Mod. 1, Pal. 2, Par. 2, Par. 3. *ἀκούσομαι* Laur. 2. *ακούσομ'* Aldus and Edd.

ib. *κατά σε*] Rav., Mod. 1, Par. 1 originally. *κἆτά σε* originally, I think, in Laur. 1. Corrected to *κᾀτά σε* by a later hand in Par. 1. *κἆτά σε* Pal. 2, Par. 3. *κἆτά σ' αὖ* Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Par. 2.

296. *πρὶν ἄν γ'*] This reading which Bentley had conjectured is really found in Laur. 1, as corrected. The original reading is doubtful. *πρίν γ'* Rav. *πρίν γ' ἂν* Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1. *πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητε* Pal. 2, Par. 3. *πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητέ γ'* Pal. 1, Laur. 2, Par. 2, Aldus. Brunck corrects thus: *μηδαμῶς γε, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητ'.*

ib. *ἀνάσχεσθ'*] Rav., Laur. 2, Pal. 2 and others. *ἀνάσχοιθ'* Laur. 1. *ἀνάσχοιτ'* Par. 1 which is nearly illegible here. *ἀνάσχοισθ'* Mod. 1, Aldus, Par. 2, Par. 3.

299. *λέγε μοι σὺ*] Hermann and Elmsley. *λέγε σύ μοι* Rav. *λέγε σὺ* (omitting *μοι*) Par. 1, Laur. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1, Pal. 2, Par. 2, Par. 3. *λέγε δὴ σὺ* Pal. 1, Aldus. The *μοι* was, we see, first misplaced, then omitted and the defect conjecturally supplied by *δή*.

300, 301. *ἐγὼ κατατεμῶ ποθ' ἱππεῦσι κ.*] *ἐγὼ κατατεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεῦσίν ποτ' ἐς κ.* Rav., Laur. 1, Mod. 1, Par. 1 *ἱππεῦσῖ* (sic), Par. 3, *ἐγὼ κατατεμῶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσί ποτε κ.* Laur. 2, *ἐγὼ κατατεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεῦσί ποτ' ἐς κατόμματα* Pal. 2. Here Pal. 1 mixing scholia with text, more suo, reads: *ὃν ἐτμήματα δερμάτων | γὼ κατατεμῶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσί ποτε καττύματα.* Suidas retains *ἐς* but omits *ποτε*, which latter says the scholiast is superfluous and unmetrical. Brunck adopts the reading of Par. 1, Par. 3 changing *ἐγὼ* to *ἔγωγε* not observing any correspondence with the antistrophic lines 344—346. Elmsley retains *ποτε* but ejects *ἐς*. Dindorf, ejecting *ἐγὼ*, reads *ὃν κατατεμῶ τοῖσιν ἱππεῦσι καττύματα.* Meineke reads *ὃν ἐγὼ τεμῶ τ. ἱ. κ.* It appears to me that both *ἐγὼ* and the compound *κατατεμῶ* are required and that *ποτε* strengthens the threat. I therefore retain all except *τοῖσιν* which may be dispensed with. The preposition *ἐς* had been inserted in ignorance of the construction of the accusative. Compare Equit. 768, *καταρμηθείην τε λέπαδνα.*

307. *πῶς δέ γ' ἂν*] all MSS. *πῶς δ' ἔτ' ἂν* Elmsley. A plausible but unnecessary alteration.

ib. *λέγοις ἂν*] All MSS. except Rav., which omits *ἄν*. Bergk proposes *καλῶς, Λάκωσιν εἴπερ...*, Hamaker *καλῶς δοκοίης*, Meineke *καλῶς λέγοι' ἄν*, and Ribbeck *καλῶς γένοιτ' ἄν*. Remembering that the Chorus repeats the word D. has used, we see no need for change.

308. *βωμὸς οὔτε πίστις*] *πίστις οὔτε βωμος* Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1. '*βωμὸς* est jusjurandum per victimas, *ὅρκος* per verba, *πίστις* per dextras'. Porson, translating the scholiast. The word 'jusjurandum' is hardly applicable to *πίστις*. *συνθῆκαι* is the scholiast's word. Compare Lysistr. 629, *οἷσιν οὐδὲν πιστὸν εἰ μή περ λύκῳ κεχηνότι* and Eurip. Androm. 445, quoted by the scholiast, *Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι δόλια βουλευτήρια.* 'Spartan perfidy' was as frequent in Athenian mouths as 'Punica fides' in Roman and 'perfide Albion' in French. Every nation believes itself to be always victorious in battle and always overreached in negotiation.

309. *Λάκωνας*] *λάκωνες* Rav.

ib. *οἷς*] *οὓς* Par. 1, and originally, I think, Laur. 1.

314. *ἂν*] Omitted in Rav., and erased in Laur. 1.

ib. Hamaker reads *μεγάλ' ἂν ... κἠδικημένους*. But *ἀδικουμένους* yields a very good sense 'they are the injured party'. Some take *πολλὰ* with *ἀποφήναιμι*: 'I could bring many proofs that in some points they are actually the injured party'. I rather take the sentence as a brachylogy for 'I could prove that in many points they are not to blame, in some actually the injured party'. In colloquial Greek the grammatical construction is modified as rapidly as the thought. Compare 317, 318, where to suit the protasis the sense of the apodosis should be 'I am willing to have my head cut off'.

317. *λέξω*] Rav. *λέγω* the rest.

ib. *μηδὲ*] *μήτε* Rav.

318. *θελήσω*] Perhaps we should write *'θελήσω*. We have *ἐθελήσει* Pax 852 and *ἐθελήσεις* Vesp. 291.

ib. *τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχων*] This is the reading of all MSS. and is recognized by Suidas. The objection to it is that it introduces as the fifth foot of the verse a dactyl where only a trochee or tribrach is admissible. Various conjectures have been made: *τὴν δέρην ἔχων* Brunck. *τὸν κέφαλον ἔχων* Porson. (Similarly Elmsley corrected a line of Plato the comic poet quoted by Plutarch de Rep. Ger. p. 801 b, *βόσκει δυσώδη κεφαλὴν, αἰσχίστην νόσον.*) *τὸν λάρυγγ' ἔχων* or *θέλω λέγειν ἔχων τὸν αὐχένα* Elmsley. *τήνδ' ἔχων ἐγὼ* Dindorf. *τὴν ἐμὴν ἔχων* Fritsch. *τὴν κεβλὴν ἔχων* Ahrens. *τὴν σφαγὴν ἔχων* Geel. *τὸν φαλῆτ' ἔχων* O. Schneider. *τήνδ' ἔχων οὕτω* Blaydes. *τήνδ' ἔχων ὑμῖν* or *θέλω τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἔχων* Bergk. *πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν λέγω* Meineke. *τήν γε κεφαλὴν σχὼν* Hausing and A. Müller. Meineke, in his Vindiciæ, quoting the last emendation, suggests *τήνδε κεφαλὴν σχὼν.* Hamaker solves the difficulty by leaving the line out as spurious. In order to preserve the antistrophic character of the dialogue he is obliged to leave out line 316 also, which he pronounces to be not Greek. Compare line 486. I am unwilling to add to the number of conjectures one with which I am not myself satisfied, but *τι κεφαλὴν ἔχων* had occurred to me. I am inclined to think that *κεφαλὴ* a word in such common use may have been popularly pronounced, dissyllabically, *κεφλὴν* as we find it in *κεβληπύρις*.

319. *εἰπέ μοι*] Although addressed to a plural number, the verb is in the singular as in line 328, Vespæ 403, Pax 383, Av. 366. It is an exclamation, like the French 'Dis donc'. So *ἰδοὺ θέασαι* line 366.

321. *οἷον αὖ μέλασιν ἐφ' ὑμῖν*] This reading, for which I am responsible, seems to come nearest to the Rav. MS. and to make a satisfactory sense. The MSS. have as follows: *οἷον αὖ μέλας ἐφ' ὑμῖν* Rav. *οἷος αὖ μέλας τις ὑμῖν* Par. 1, Laur. 1, Laur. 2, Par. 2, Par. 3, Ald. *οἷος τις αὖ μέλας τις ὑμῖν* Mod. 1, Amb. 1. Hotibius conjectured *οἷον αὖ τις μέλας ἐφ' ὑμῖν.* Mod. 1 continues this line to the Chorus, prefixing *δικαιοπολις* to the next.

ib. ἐπέζεσεν] ἐπέξεσεν Laur. 1, Mod. 1, Laur. 2 and others. ἐπέζησεν Pal. 1.

322. οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ', οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ'] οὐκ ἀκούσασθ' οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ' (written at first ἀκούσεθ') Rav. οὐδ' ἀκούσεσθ' οὐκ ἀκούσεσθ' the rest except Pal. 1, which has οὐδ'... οὐδ'... the reading adopted by Brunck conjecturally. οὐδ' ἀκούσεσθ' ἀκούσεσθ' Ald.

ib. ὦ 'Αχαρνηίδαι] ὦ χαρνηίδαι Rav. The MSS. generally and earlier edd. write ὦ 'χαρνηίδαι: modern edd. ὦχαρνηίδαι. I prefer to write ὦ 'Αχαρνηίδαι, and ὦ 'Αχαρνικοί line 324 for the reason assigned in the note to δήξομαι ἄρα, line 325.

323. τἄρα] τἄρα Elmsley. γ' ἄρα all MSS. except Par. 1 which has δεινὰ χ' ἄρα. Mod. 1 has been corrected to the common reading.

324. ἐξολοίμην] ἐξελύμην Par. 1.

ib. ὦ 'Αχαρνικοί] ὦ 'χαρνικοί MSS. except Pal. 1, which has ἀχαρνικοί.

325. νυνί] Rav., Par. 1; and Mod. 1 originally. νῦν γε Laur. 2, Pal. 1 and Ald. νῦν the rest. In Pal. 2 the line has been omitted and added by the same hand in the margin.

ib. δήξομαι ἄρ' ὑμᾶς] δείξομ' ὑμᾶς ἄρ' Rav. δήξομαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς Laur. 1, Par. 1; and Mod. 1 originally. Laur. 2 and the later MSS. generally δήξομαι γ' ἄρ' ὑμᾶς. Dawes, followed by Brunck and Elmsley, read δήξομ' ἆρ' ὑμᾶς. But as Dindorf remarks the *a* in ἀρ' is made long by crasis as in περιόψομαι ἀπελθόντα Ranæ 509. In such cases I prefer to write the words separately rather than δήξομἄρα and περιόψομἀπελθόντα, which seem very awkward forms, single words with two accents. Between two particles the crasis may be represented without the same awkwardness, e.g. τἄρα for τοι ἄρα.

328. Here as frequently in this play there is no indication of a change of speaker in Rav.

329. ἡμῖν] Rav., Laur. 1, Laur. 2, Par. 1, Par. 2, Par. 3. ὑμῖν Amb. 1, Mod. 1 ὑμῶν Ald. Kuster read and punctuated thus 'Αχαρνικοῖσιν; ὑμῶν μῶν..., Bentley suggested 'Αχαρνικοῖσι; μῶν ὑμῶν... adopted by Elmsley.

ib. του] τοῦ Rav.

ib. παιδίον] πεδίον Pal. 1.

330. ἦ 'πὶ τῷ] ἠπιτῶι Rav. ἦ 'πί τινι Par. 1 and originally I think in Laur. 1, Mod. 1 which have both been corrected. ἦ 'πί τῳ Kuster.

331. Dic. now reappears carrying a charcoal basket, doubtless parodying the gestures of the actor who in the character of Telephus snatched Orestes from his cradle and threatened to kill him if Agamemnon did not yield to his request.

333. ἀπωλόμεσθ'] ἀπολόμεθ' Rav.

ib. ὅδ'] Omitted in Rav.

334. μηδαμῶς ὦ] ὦ μηδαμῶς ὦ Rav. For ὦ perhaps we should read ἦ or ἧ. Cf. Nubes 105.

335. κέκραχθ'] κεκραθ' Rav.

336. This line of five dactyls corresponds to 285.

ib. ἄρ' ὁμήλικα] A conjecture of Reisig adopted by Meineke, Bergk and Müller. ἄρα τὸν ἥλικα all MSS., except Laur. 2, which has ἄρα θ' ἥλικα. Others have guessed as follows: (1) συ τὸν ἥλικα Bentley: (2) δὲ τὸν ἥλικα Elmsley: (3) ῥα τὸν ἥλικα Dindorf: (4) ἄρ' ἀφήλικα Bergk and Meineke: (5) ἄρα τήλικα Meineke. Against (1) and (2) it may be urged that ἄρα is required by the sense; against (3) that ῥα is not Attic; against (4) that the reading of Laur. 2 is of no authority; against (5) that the form τήλικα requires confirmation. Whatever be the true reading, the Chorus beyond doubt refer to the coal-basket, not to themselves.

ib. φιλανθρακέα] Corrected in Laur. 1 to θρακέα.

338. νῦν οὖν] νῦν, over erasure, Rav. νῦν the rest, except Laur. 2 and Pal. 1 which have γὰρ νῦν. νυνὶ Elmsley. The reading of the text is my own conjecture. οὖν improves the sense and νῦν and οὖν as written in the earlier MSS. are so nearly alike that the omission of the latter is easily accounted for.

The passage, as Elmsley says, is undoubtedly corrupt. Rav. reads εἴ τι σοὶ δοκεῖ (not εἴ τοι, as Bekker states) and omits τε. The other MSS. read line 338 as in text, which I retain as it suits the metre, though no satisfactory sense can be given to τε. Elmsley proposes ὅτι σοι δοκεῖ. Hotibius εἴ τί σοί τοι δοκεῖ. For τε Reisig suggests the facile emendation γε. To avoid the strange use of the masculine singular τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, an anachronistic Latinism for τοὺς Λ. (but see Pax 214), Bergk would read τὸ Λακεδαιμόνιον which is somewhat tame. Ribbeck proposes ἀλλὰ νυνὶ λέγ' εἴ τοι δοκεῖ σοί γ' ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος αὐτὸς ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ σου 'στι φίλος. Another difficulty lies in ὅτι τῷ. Scaliger proposed ὅτῳ τρόπῳ which the metre will not admit; Bentley ὅττῳ τρόπῳ which has no example in Attic Greek. Blaydes ὁποίῳ τρόπῳ, and Enger ὅτι τῳ τρόπῳ, explaining 'dass er Dir in gewisser Beziehung lieb ist'. For αὐτὸν ὅτι τῷ Bergk reads αὔθ' ὅτῳ τῷ. φίλος is the reading of Rav. alone; all the rest have φίλον. It is possible that in ὅτι τῷ τρόπῳ, two propositions are blended into one, the language being intended to mark the trepidation and perplexity of the Chorus. Reading then φίλος with Rav. we may translate the whole passage thus: "Well, now then, speak, if you will, and tell us of the Lacedæmonian himself how and in what way he is a friend of yours'.

340. λαρκίδιον] λαρνακίδιον Pal. 2.

ib. οὐ προδώσω ποτέ] προδώσ' οὐδέποτε Laur. 2.

341. τοὺς λίθους νύν μοι] Brunck suggested this reading in his notes, having inadvertently retained the old reading in his text (and it is given by a recent hand in Laur. 1). τοὺς νῦν μοι λίθους MSS. τοὺς μὲν οὖν λίθους Elmsley. τοὺς λίθους νῦν μοι Dindorf.

χαμᾶζε πρῶτον] πρῶτον χαμάζ' Laur. 1 corrected above by a recent hand.

343. μὴ 'ν τοῖς] μὴ τοῖς Suidas s. v. ἐγκάθετος, and Elmsley.

ἐγκάθηνται] ἐγκάθωνται Blaydes. The indicative after ὅπως μὴ seems quite right here, referring to a question of present fact.

344. ἐκσέσεισται] That is τρίβων. With σειόμενον understand τρίβωνα.

345. μή μοι πρόφασιν] Athenæus IV. p. 170 A quotes the Λέβης of Alexis: μὴ προφάσεις ἐνταῦθά μοι μηδ' οὐκ ἔχω.

346. *ὅδε γε σειστὸς*] *ὅδε γε σειθεστὸς* Pal. 1. *ὅδεσε σειστὸς* Pal. 2.

ib. *στροφῇ*] *στρόφιγγι* Amb. 1, and so corrected in Laur. 1, Mod. 1.

347. *ἆρα πάντες*] *ἆρ' ἅπαντες* Elmsley. *ἄρα πάντες* all MSS. except Par. 3, which has *ἄρ' ἅπαντες*. *ἄρ' ἀπαντῶντες* Hermann. *ἄρα πάντως* Dobree and Meineke. *ἄρα πάντες ποτ'* Cobet.

ἀνασείειν βοὰς] All MSS. have *ἀνασείειν βοῆς*, but in Rav. *a* is written above *ῆς* in the same hand. *ἀνασείειν μετὰ βοῆς* Scaliger and Brunck, from the scholiast's interpretation. *ἀνήσειν τῆς βοῆς* Elmsley conj., comparing Pax 316, *εἰ μὴ τῆς βοῆς ἀνήσετε.* *ἀνήσειν τὴν βοήν* A. Müller from Bergk's conjecture, translating 'In eo eratis ut clamare pergeretis'—a sense which neither the words nor the context admit of. Müller suggests also *ἀνασχήσειν βοήν.* This is one of the most difficult passages in the play. The recurrence of the word *σείειν* in various forms just before, *ἐκσέσεισται, σειόμενον, σειστὸς*, may on the one hand have suggested the particular corruption *ἀνασείειν*, or on the other may be regarded as confirmatory of the correctness of the reading, as it is quite in our author's manner to carry on the play of words as long as possible. I incline to this latter view. *'Ανασείειν βοῆς* however presents no suitable meaning, indeed no meaning at all. I therefore venture to print the alternative reading found in the Rav. MS., but hitherto unnoticed, *βοάς*. This rare plural occurs e.g. in the Antigone of Sophocles, 1021, *οὐδ' ὄρνις εὐσήμους ἀποῤῥοιβδεῖ βοάς*. We have the word *ἀνασείειν* in Thucyd. IV. 38, *οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρῆκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασείσαντες, δηλοῦντες προσίεσθαι τὰ κεκηρυγμένα.* The throwing up of the unarmed hands was probably the recognized sign by which two hostile armies engaged to cease fighting. Aristophanes applies the word quaintly to the late pacific exclamations of the Chorus. If the word *ἀνασείειν* were in familiar use as it may have been, this explanation is not so far-fetched as it appears at first sight. 'After all, you see, you had to cry out for truce'.

348. *δ'*] Meineke. *τ'* MSS., Suidas and edd. *γ'* Elmsley. Whatever reading and interpretation we adopt in the latter part of the preceding line, after *ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα* the connecting particle should be adversative, *δὲ* rather than *τε*. *γε* seems abrupt.

For *ὀλίγου* 'within a little, nearly' see line 382 and Vesp. 829, *ὡς ὀλίγου μ' ἀπώλεσας.*

ib. *Παρνήσιοι*] Elmsley. *παρνάσσιοι* Rav., Laur. 1, Mod. 1. *παρνάσιοι* Par. 1, Laur. 2, Pal. 2. *Παρνήθιοι* Bentley. The woods of the Acharnian charcoal-burners were on the slopes of Mount Parnes.

350. *τῆς μαρίλης συχνὴν*] So we have *τῆς γῆς πολλήν* Pax 167, *τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν* Thucyd. II. 57, *ὁ ἥμισυς τοῦ χρόνου* Demosth. c. Leptinem 7.

351. *σηπία*] Mentioned frequently by Aristotle in the Hist. Anim. in connection with *τευθὶς*, *τεῦθος* and *πολύπους*. Described by Athenæus VII. p. 323 C. Matron the parodist called it *σηπίη εὐπλόκαμος δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα ἣ μόνη ἰχθὺς ἐοῦσα τὸ λευκὸν καὶ μέλαν οἶδε.* Athenæus IV. p. 135 C.

It keeps its ancient name in modern Greek and is a favourite article of food especially during Lent, for this anomalous mollusc is not supposed to be included in the prohibition which affects alike flesh, fowl and fish.

352. *γὰρ*] *γ' ἄρ'* Elmsley. *μὲν γὰρ* Suidas s.v. *δεινόν*. *μὲν* Meineke conj. *μὲν ἄρ'* Ribbeck conj. No change is required. D. resumes the train of thought from line 349.

ib. *ὀμφακίαν*] 'Verjuice-like'. *ὄμφαξ*, wine made from unripe grapes, what is called 'agraz' in Spain. Adjectives of this form, in *-ιας*, are commonly used to designate varieties of wines and grapes, as Plutus 807, *οἴνου μέλανος ἀνθοσμίου*, and *ἄμπελος Ἀνθηδονίας καὶ Ὑπερίας*, Athenæus, I. p. 31 E.

354. *ἐθέλειν τ'*] *ἐθέλειν δ'* Suidas s.v. *ὀμφακίαν*.

ib. *μηδὲν ἴσον ἴσῳ φέρον*] The line is thus written and punctuated in Rav., *ἐθελειν τ' ἀκοῦσαι, μηδὲν ἴσον· ἴσωι φέρειν·* The other MSS. have *φέρων* and so Suidas s.v. *ὀμφακίαν*. *φέρον* is found as a correction in Laur. 1, a late correction, since the Barberini MS. copied from it has *φέρων*, also in Suidas s.v. *δεινὸν* and in Aldus. The poet continues the metaphor suggested by *ὀμφακίαν*, line 352. Compare a fragment of Strattis quoted by Athenæus I. p. 30 F,

> *οἶνος κοκκύζει τοῖς ὁδοιπόροις πιεῖν*
> *μέλας Σκιάθιος ἴσον ἴσῳ κεκραμένος,*

where the former line should perhaps run

> *ὃς τοῖς ὁδοιπόροισι κοκκύζει πιεῖν.*

Compare also Equit. 1187,

> A. *ἔχε καὶ πιεῖν κεκραμένον τρία καὶ δύο.*
> B. *ὡς ἡδὺς ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ τὰ τρία φέρων καλῶς.*

Here the phrase is used to signify 'equal measure', 'a fair compromise'.

356. *λέγω*] Rav., Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Pal. 2. *ἐγὼ λέγω* Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1, and originally Laur. 1.

357. *τὴν ἐμὴν*] *τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ* Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1, and originally Laur. 1 corrected by a late hand. The rest as in text.

358—363. *τί οὖν...ἔχει*] Six lines in Rav. Five in other MSS. Three in Dindorf. They consist of seven dochmiacs, of which the first three are of the original type (⏑ – – ⏑ –).

358. *οὖ*] Omitted in Rav., Par. 1, Amb. 1 and erased by the corrector in Laur. 1. It is found in the inferior MSS. generally and Aldus.

ib. *ἐπίξηνον*] *τοὐπίξηνον·* Aldus.

362. *πάνυ γὰρ ἐμέ γε πόθος*] *πόθος γὰρ πάνυ με* Pal. 1, Laur. 2, Par. 2. *πόθος γὰρ πάνυ ἐμέγε* Pal. 2, Par. 3.

363. *φρονεῖς*] Misprinted *φονεῖς* in Ald. The error ran through successive editions and was miscorrected to *φωνεῖς*.

ib. *ἔχει*] *ἔχοι* Par. 1, and originally Mod. 1 corrected by the same hand.

366. *θέασαι*] Rav. *θεᾶσθε* the rest.

371. *οἶδα χαίροντας*] Rav., Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Pal. 2. *χαίροντας οἶδα* Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1.

374. *λανθάνουσ'*] *λανθάνωσ'* Rav.

ib. *ἐμπολᾶν* means either to sell (Pax 448) or to buy (Pax 563), *ἀπεμπολᾶν* always to sell. Here it means 'sold', betrayed, deceived. The same metaphor is found in most modern languages, but in Greek it is free from the taint of slang. Compare Pax 633, *τὸν τρόπον πωλούμενος τὸν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐμάνθανεν.*

376. *ψήφῳ δακεῖν*] So corrected by an early hand in Laur. 1, in text and scholia; so corrected also in Mod. 1. *ψήφωδακεῖν* in Barb. 1. *ψηφο δακεῖν* (with space between) Rav. *ψηφοδακεῖν* Par. 1, Par. 3, and originally Laur. 1, Mod. 1. *ψήφω δακεῖν* Amb. 1. *ψηφηδακεῖν* Laur. 2, Par. 2.

If there were any authority for *ψηφηδακεῖν* I should prefer it, as the single word seems more natural and forcible after *βλέπουσι.* Brunck suggests *ψήφῳ δάκνειν*, Burger *ψῆφον δικεῖν*, Bergk *ψῆφον δακεῖν.* If *ψήφῳ* be right, it was probably pronounced with a malicious emphasis, implying that the old man had no teeth left to bite with. *ψήφοις* may have been the reading.

377. It has been doubted whether this is spoken in the person of Callistratus, the actor and *διδάσκαλος*, or in that of Aristophanes. I have discussed this question in the introduction. The play referred to was 'the Babylonians' brought out the previous year.

ib. *ἄπαθον*] *ἀπάθον* Rav. *ἄ 'παθον* Laur. 1. *ἃ ῎παθον* Par. 1.

379. *μ'*] Omitted, or erased, in Laur. 1.

381. *ἐκυκλοβόρει*] A verb invented probably by Aristophanes from *Κυκλόβορος* the name of a torrent which in wet weather descends from Lycabettus and passes through the city of Athens with a loud roar. Some years ago it washed down several houses, but a bed has lately been dug for it. Cleon's voice is compared to the roar of Cycloborus Equit. 137.

384. Elmsley inclosed this line in brackets. Valckenaer

first doubted its genuineness, on account of the repetition of με and the recurrence of the line 436. Elmsley suggests γ' for μ'. But μ' οἷον ἀθλιώτατον is the accusative governed by ἐνσκευάσασθαι. 'Let me get myself dressed as the most miserable of beggars'. Compare Ran. 523, ὁτιή σε παίζων Ἡρακλέα 'νεσκεύασα, adopting Elmsley's emendation, 'νεσκεύασα. In this place there is doubtless especial reference to if not a parody of some passage in the Telephus of Euripides.

385. ταῦτα] δῆτα Elmsley conj.

ib. στρέφει τεχνάζεις τε] στρέφεις τεχνάζει τε Laur. 2, Pal. 1. στρέφει τεχνάζει τε Aldus. The MSS. vary as usual between στρέφει, στρέφη and στρέφῃ, and several have been corrected and recorrected.

388. ἐμοῦ γ' ἕνεκα] 'For all I care', 'meinetwegen': ἐμοῦ ἕνεκα 'for my sake', 'mir zu Liebe'.

389. Ἱερωνύμου] A tragic poet says the scholiast, but more probably a writer of dithyrambs as the scholiast says Nubes 349, where we learn his father's name ἄγριόν τινα τῶν λασίων τούτων οἷόνπερ τὸν Ξενοφάντου. In the following words of this play allusion is made to his long shaggy hair and his far-fetched imagery.

390. σκοτοδασυπυκνότριχά] σκοτοδασυπνότριχα Rav. σκυτοδασυπυκνότριχα Par. 1.

ib. τιν'] Brunck. τὴν MSS. (Rav. also reads τὴν not τιν' as Invernizius and Bekker imply.)

ib. ἄιδος κυνῆν] 'Helmet of invisibility' worn by Athene (Iliad v. 845) and Perseus (Hesiod Scut. Herc. 226).

391. εἶτ'] MSS. ἀλλ' Suidas s.v. Σισυφος, followed by Meineke and Müller.

392. ἀγὼν] ἁ 'γὼν Elmsley. αγῶν Rav. ἂν ἀγὼν Pal. 1, Laur. 2. ἀγὼν the rest.

ib. οὐκ εἰσδέξεται] οὐκ ἐσδέξεται, so corrected in Pal. 1; Ald. οὐ προσδέξεται Suidas. οὐχὶ δέξεται Cobet conj., Meineke.

[*To be continued.*]

ON THE CHARACTER OF THE AGNATIC GUARDIANSHIP OF MINORS AND WOMEN.—Note on Gaius I. 168.

Agnatis ... permissum est feminarum tutelam alii in iure cedere; pupillorum autem tutelam non est permissum cedere, quia .. n ...... r .... osa, cum tempore pubertatis finiatur. Such, according to the editions of Mr. Poste (Oxford) and Drs. Abdy and Walker (Cambridge), is the reading of the Veronese ms. in Gaius, Comm. I. 168. Pellat in his Manuale Iuris Synopticum gives the reading quia non .... n . rosa and supplies *videtur onerosa.* Abdy and Walker fill in the lacuna by the same words, the only difference being that the latter editors conjecturally restore the *n* and *r* which Pellat assumes to be legible in the ms. Krueger and Studemund in their recent edition (Berlin, 1877) and Polenaar in his Syntagma assume the ms. reading to be ... rosa and supply one||rosa; the latter on the authority of Studemund, who thought he could decipher the first three letters. Messrs. Tomkins and Lemon, in the London edition of 1869, give the same reading and also mention Bethman-Hollweg's suggestion of *annosa,* which Boecking adopts. An objection however arises from the great probability that the last letter but four in the ms. is an *r*; and a further reason for rejecting the word is given by Huschke (who seems to have been the first to suggest *onerosa* as an emendation) who rightly objects 'Sed annosum est quod iam habet non quod duraturum est multos annos.' Mr. Poste contents himself with printing .... osa, and in a short note (p. 134, 2nd ed.) expresses uncertainty whether the word to be supplied is *onerosa* or *lucrosa.* After a careful consideration of the passage, I have come to the conclusion that Pellat, Krueger and Studemund, Polenaar, Tomkins and Lemon, Abdy and Walker, and Ortolan (see Vol. II. p. 289, 10th ed.) are clearly wrong in reading *onerosa* and that the word which Gaius wrote was *lucrosa.* I will endeavour briefly to give my reasons for venturing to differ from a *consensus* of authorities, formidable both from their number and from the justly high critical reputation of almost all of them.

Even supposing the ms. to contain, as Pellat seems to suppose, traces of an *n* and a *r*, this would not in any way affect the opinion which I have formed on other grounds. Of course *r* would suit either word; while the difference between *n* and *u*—especially to one who anticipated deciphering an *n*—in such a manuscript as that of Gaius would probably be extremely slight. In any case, Pellat gives no authority for his apparent assumption that *n* can be deciphered in the ms.

Gaius is here saying that the agnates, when statutory guardians of a woman, can, but when statutory guardians of a minor cannot, suffer a recovery of the guardianship in court. They cannot do so in the case of minors because the guardianship of *impubes,* ceasing at puberty, is not *lucrosa.* Such, I feel certain, mainly on the following grounds, was the reason assigned by Gaius for the disability in question.

1. Would it be correct, as a matter of fact, to say that the guardianship of *impubes* was never *onerosa?* Suppose *infans* becomes *sui iuris* while a babe in arms, perhaps at the moment of birth, and is owner of a large property; the exclusive administration of the affairs of such an one, while he is *infans* and *infanti proximus,* and the concurrent administration (practically exclusive in matters of gentile law), together with the responsibility attached to the interposition of their *auctoritas* in matters of civil law, when the minor has become *pubertati proximus,* might surely during a space of twelve or fourteen years entail much labour and prove extremely onerous to the agnatic guardian.

2. On the other hand, it would be perfectly correct to say that such guardianship *non videtur lucrosa,* since it terminated at puberty. The prospect of obtaining the *emolumentum suc-*

cessionis which was to compensate the *onus tutelae* was in fact extremely slight, especially when we bear in mind the power of pupillar substitution; the position of the guardian closely resembled that of a trustee or committee in English law; the minor, if he suspected maladministration on the part of his guardian, had on attaining puberty his *actio directa tutelae* or *arbitrium tutelae,* with the alternative *actio de distrahendis rationibus.* A woman had no such privilege; the contrast in position in this respect between minor and woman is clearly pointed out by Gaius himself:—Cum tutore nullum ex tutela iudicium *mulieri* datur. At ubi *pupillorum pupillarumve* negotia tutores tractant, eis post pubertatem tutelae iudicio rationem reddunt (I. 191). In fact, the position of a guardian of a minor being entirely one of responsibility, without any legitimate source of emolument, what honourable reason could any third party have for undertaking to fill it? If he did so gratuitously, the proceeding must have been extremely suspicious; if for a consideration, a mercenary guardian was hardly a suitable one. The transaction in either case was one which the law might reasonably refuse to sanction. Such considerations have no application to the perpetual guardianship of women.

3. It is clear from the context that a distinction in character is here drawn between the statutory guardianship of minors and that of women. If we are to here read *non onerosa* we must suppose that Gaius regarded the guardianship of women as *onerosa;* if, as I suggest, we read *non lucrosa,* it will be regarded as *lucrosa.* Now in point of fact which was it, in its actual character and in the eye of the law, lucrative or onerous?

Before Gaius wrote, the agnatic guardianship of women had been abolished by the Sc. Claudianum. His remarks about it are merely retrospective; but its nature may be easily gathered from the subsequent passage in which the author shews that the common reasons—levitas animi (Gaius), infirmitas consilii (Cic.), sexus infirmitas et forensium rerum ignorantia (Ulp.)—assigned for the perpetual guardianship of women, are really only a specious pretext, and that, as a matter of fact, in the only cases in which in his time the guardianship had not been reduced to a mere form—those, namely, of parents and patrons—it was regarded as a right to be exercised in the interest not of the women *in tutela* but of the guardians themselves (I. 190—192). So it was, we may feel certain, with the older agnatic guardianship. "It is transparent," says Mr. Poste, "that the wardship of women after the years of puberty was not designed to protect their own interests, but those of their heirs apparent, the agnates." Without their consent, the woman could neither make a will, nor alienate mancipable property, nor undertake an obligation: and the reason assigned by Gaius in the case of the statutory guardianship of parents and patrons must before the Sc. Claudianum have been equally applicable to the case of agnates. This view of agnatic tutorship, it may be added, is strongly enforced in an interesting Essay recently published by M. Milliard (De la condition légale des femmes sous le rapport du Sénatus-consulte Velléien: Thèse pour le Doctorat; Caen, 1878) who sums up as follows:—'Ce n'est pas une charge, c'est une propriété de famille qu'on peut revendiquer et céder *in iure*' (supp. 7—9). In other words, it is not *onerosa* but *lucrosa*. That of *impubes* therefore as contrasted with it must clearly be termed *non lucrosa.*

4. Another obvious reason for the non-assignability of the *non-lucrative* guardianship of minors, while the lucrative guardianship of women was capable of transfer by cession, is that, the former being laborious and unprofitable, the guardians, if empowered to get rid of it, might be tempted to do so without exercising due care in the selection of a properly qualified transferee; in the case of a woman, however, there would always be a sufficient inducement for them to prevent the property at all events, and especially the reversionary interest therein, from being injured by a change in guardian. Of course when the Praetor began to compel the agnates to consent to co-emptions on trust, with a view to the appointment of fiduciary guardians, this argument would be no longer applicable; but from § 171 it is evident that Gaius in § 168 is discussing a state of affairs which before he wrote had become obsolete.

5. Lastly, it may be suggested that, as in English juris-

prudence guardianship is held to be incapable of assignment or transfer because it is not a right but a *duty*, so in Roman Law, if my view of the text be correct, the guardianship of *impubes*, being not lucrative but onerous, was on the same principle regarded as unassignable. The editors of Gaius might at least favour us with some reason for accepting their implied proposition that the theory of Roman Law was exactly the reverse of, and not exactly the same as, that of our own system.

PERCEVAL M. LAURENCE.

THE STORY OF AENEAS' WANDERINGS.

[This Essay has already appeared, in a more popular form, in the work on Vergil published in the series of Primers of Classical Literature edited by Mr J. R. Green. But as the scope of the Primer precluded the quotation of the many passages to which reference ought to be made, I have thought it advisable to publish the paper in the fuller form in which it was originally written]

THE name *Αἰνείας* is in formation parallel to *Ἑρμείας*, *Αὐγείας*, and perhaps *Βορέας*, and would seem to be a patronymic from *Αἶνος* or *Αἴνη*, as *Αὐγείας* is formed from *Αὐγή* and *Ἑρμείας* from *Ἕρμα* or *Sarama*. It may be worth while to put together some other traces of the same root which occur in the names of places. The mythical founder of Cyzicus was *Αἰνεύς*, whose name is another patronymic from the same base; in the Troad itself, if we may believe Strabo (13. 1), there was a township called *Αἴνεια* and a river *Αἴνιον*. Coming further west we find the Thracian town *Αἶνος* at the mouth of the Hebrus—it is worth while in this connection to remember Strabo's remark that there were many names common to Thrace and the Troad—and yet further west the town Aeneia in Chalcidice. South-west of Thessaly we find the *Αἰνιᾶνες*, or as Pliny (4. 6) calls them, the Aenienses; on the coast of Illyricum was a town called Aenona, reminding us in the termination of its name of Salona, Nerona, Verona, Cremona; Pliny (5. 137) mentions an island Aenare in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, and a kindred name to this appears in that of the well-known island Aenaria off the coast of Campania. It would perhaps be rash to mention the ancient name of the river Inn, Aenus, in this connection.

It is natural and easy to connect the patronymic Αἰνείας with these names: but this connection only makes darkness visible. The meaning of the base Αἰνο- it is for Greek etymologists to decipher; but before leaving it it is necessary to notice the adjective Αἰνειάς, genitive Αἰνειάδος, a title of Aphrodite. Temples to this Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς are mentioned as existing in his own time by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 49) in Leucas, at Actium near another to the θεοὶ μεγάλοι, at Ambracia, and (*ib.* 53) at Elymus in Sicily. That the ancients should have connected these temples with a supposed presence of Aeneas and his mother in these places was natural enough; but it must surely be remarked by a modern observer that Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς cannot mean *Aphrodite the mother of Aeneas,* but must signify either *Aphrodite the daughter of Aeneas* on the analogy of Βορεάς the daughter of Βορέας, or (which I think more likely) *Aphrodite of Aeneia* or *Aeneium,* just as Σιγειάς (Strabo, 13. 1) means *of Sigeum.* Klausen in his *Aeneas und die Penaten,* and Preller in his handbooks of mythology, have not, so far as I have seen, noticed this point; but, small as it may appear, it has, I think, an important bearing on the subject before us. For if Αἰνειάς as a title of Aphrodite is a mere local epithet, or at any rate a title associated with the goddess in some way not at present ascertainable, the connection of this Aphrodite with the hero of the Aeneid will appear to have arisen from a misinterpretation of names, and the words Αἰνείας and Αἰνειάς to have no more in common than their kinship with the words Aenus or Aeneia.

I do not think that the attempts of Klausen and of Fick in his *Personennamen* to connect Αἰνειάς with *αἰνεῖν, to comply,* or to *consent,* can be regarded as successful. The title of *gracious, consenting, complying, placabilis,* might, no doubt, be well applied to Aphrodite, but more evidence should be forthcoming before the question can be taken as settled, especially in the case of a proper name the antiquity of which may, for all that we know, have removed it altogether out of the reach of modern inquiry. The connection between Αἰνείας and Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς appears then to be only collateral, not derivative. And, if *Αἰνείας* is in form a local patronymic, it may also be observed that *Ascanius, Ascania, Ascaniae,* and *Ascanium* are names of a city in Aetolia, of a lake near Nicaea, of an island among the Sporades, of a district (?) in Bithynia, and of some islands off the coast of the Troad. The names therefore both of Aeneas and his son are closely connected with names of places; indeed it does not appear that Ascanius is the son of Aeneas in any poet earlier than Stesichorus.

Aeneas in the Homeric poems is the son of Aphrodite, the Heaven-protected, heaven-favoured hero whose race is to endure and to rule after that of Priam is destroyed. A family of Aeneadae retained, at Gergis in the Troad, a memory of their bygone royalty in the priestly functions which they were still allowed to exercise in the time of Aristotle (Strabo, 13. 1). I do not venture to offer any opinion as to the actual relation which these Aeneadae bore to the Aeneas of the Iliad; or to decide whether or no the Homeric hero is merely a name, invented to account for the existence of the royal and priestly family, around which the subsequent stories of his wanderings grew up step by step. But I think that we must in any case start from the names of the places with which Aeneas was said to have been connected. If we may trust Diònysius (1. 48), the legends which dealt with the fate of Aeneas after the capture of Troy were various and irreconcilable. Menecrates of Xanthus represented him as having betrayed Troy to the Greeks; others said that he was sent into Phrygia by Priam on some military service. And the stories which represented him as leaving the city of his fathers did not agree how far he wandered, Hegesianax, and Hegesippus the historian of Pallene, bringing him only as far as that peninsula, while others made him leave Thrace and go on as far as Arcadia, where he founded a city which was named Caphyae after the Trojan Capys. Remembering the Thracian city Aenus, and the Pallenian Aeneia, we need find no difficulty, considering the contradictory and untrustworthy character of these stories, in attributing the idea of Aeneas' presence in those places, which is apparently as old as Lesches, solely to their names; nor need the connection of the Arcadian Caphyae with the

Trojan Capys give us any more trouble than the reference of the Italian name Capua to the same hero. It may be added that according to Pausanias (8. 12. 8) there was also in Arcadia a mountain called *Anchisia* with a grave of Anchises.

Before going into the question of Aeneas' voyage to Italy, it will be as well to consider the remaining traces of the legends which brought him into various parts of Hellas. Dionysius (1. 50) assures us that there were many signs of the presence of Aeneas in Delos, whither Aeneas came while the island was governed by king Anius. Delos and Anius are adopted by Vergil in his third Aeneid. No doubt the similarity of the names Anius and Aeneas has much to do with this part of the legend. What the other evidences of Aeneas' presence there may have been Dionysius does not inform us. A temple of Aphrodite in the island of Cythera seems to have been the centre of a story of Aeneas' former presence there; Dionysius says that the promontory of Κιναίθιον was named after Κίναιθος, a companion of Aeneas, who was there buried. In Zacynthus a solemn sacrifice to Aphrodite, and athletic contests for youths, kept up as late as the time of Dionysius a memory of Aeneas; the founder of Zacynthus was supposed to be a son of Dardanus and brother of Erichthonius. Among the athletic contests is especially mentioned a race named after Aphrodite and Aeneas, of whom two wooden statues were kept in the island. In Leucas, Actium, and Ambracia there were, as we have seen, temples to Aphrodite Aineias; in Ambracia there was also, according to Dionysius, a wooden statue said to represent Aeneas, which was honoured by yearly observances. In Buthrotum was another temple of Aphrodite, the foundation of which was attributed to Aeneas; it was from Buthrotum, according to Dionysius, that Aeneas went to consult the oracle of Dodona. In the neighbourhood of Buthrotum there was also a harbour-town bearing the name Anchisos.

So far, with the help of Dionysius, we have traced supposed memories of Aeneas in Thrace, in Delos, in Arcadia, in Cythera, on the promontory of Cinaethium, in Zacynthus, in Leucas, Actium, Ambracia, and Buthrotum. Passing on to the south of Italy we meet with legends which brought Aeneas and his followers to the promontory of Iapygia inhabited by the Sallentini, and the harbour of Aphrodite near the temple of Athene (Aen. 3. 531, *templumque apparet in arce Minervae*); here they only remain for a short time and then go on to Sicily.

The legend which brought Trojan settlers to the north-west of Sicily, Eryx, Elymus, and Segesta, was older than the time of Thucydides, who expressly mentions and accepts it; to follow it into the details given by Dionysius is quite unnecessary. It is, however, of great importance as linking the story of Aeneas on one side with Italy and on the other with Carthage. The main point for our present consideration is the existence of a temple of Aphrodite Aineias at Elymus; on some other features of the story we shall have to remark further on.

The story of Aeneas' voyage to Latium is undoubtedly later than the legends which we have been considering. A whole chapter of Greek mythology, familiar enough to students of that subject, connected Italy with the wandering heroes who were seeking homes after the destruction of Troy. Thus Diomede and Ulysses were brought to the shores of the western seas, and those legends grew up to which Landor in his "Hellenics" has succeeded so well in giving a poetical form and interest. The stories of the Trojans Aeneas and Antenor coming to these regions may doubtless be readily connected with the cycle of Hellenic myths. It seems now to be doubted[1] whether any distinct allusion to Aeneas' Italian voyage can be elicited from the supposed quotation from Stesichorus in the Ilian table, which mentions Aeneas as starting for Hesperia. According to Pliny (3. 57) Theophrastus was the first Greek who wrote with any care on Roman affairs. Before Theophrastus the notion had arisen that Rome had been founded by Aeneas in the company of Ulysses. Dionysius (1. 72) quotes as his authority for this statement the list of priestesses in Argos. The compiler of these lists is assumed[2] by Müller in his Fragments of the Greek historians to have been Hellanicus. In a story little varying from the former Aristotle asserted that Rome was founded by certain Ἀχαιοί, who on their return from Troy were caught in a storm as they were rounding Cape Malea, and were at length carried by the violence of the wind to the coast of Latium. Here they spent the winter, intending to sail with the spring. But some captive women whom they had brought from Troy, anxious to escape the slavery which awaited them in Greece, took the opportunity one night of burning the ships, and making further progress impossible. The name Ρώμη was that of the Trojan woman by whose advice this measure was taken. This is the story adopted by Heraclides Lembus, the historian of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes: (Fest. p. 268 Müller, and Solinus 1. 2) *Heraclidi placet, Troia capta quosdam ex Achivis in ea loca ubi nunc Roma est devenisse per Tiberim, deinde suadente Rome nobilissima captivarum quae his comes erat, incensis navibus posuisse sedes, instruxisse moenia, et oppidum ab ea Romen vocavisse.* He mentions another version: *Agathocles scribit Romen non captivam fuisse ut supra dictum est, sed Ascanio natam Aeneae neptem appellationis istius causam fuisse.* In the same spirit the historian Xenagoras made Ulysses and Circe the parents of Romus, Antias, and Ardeas, and Callias, who wrote the history of Agathocles, made Romulus and Remus the sons of Latinus and a Trojan woman named Romê. The story of the women burning the ships was afterwards transferred to the Trojan fleet, which according to one version was destroyed at Caieta (Serv. on Aen. 7. 1, *in hoc loco classem Troianorum casu concrematam, unde et Caieta dictum* ἀπὸ τοῦ καίειν: so on 10. 36), according to another, adopted by Vergil in his fifth Aeneid, in Sicily, where the intervention of Neptune partially defeats the malice of Juno.

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[1] *Preller*, Römische Mythologie, p. 670.

[2] Yet this is difficult to accept, for Dionysius is careful to mention Hellanicus by name in chap. 48, and there seems to be no reason why he should not have done so, had he been alluding to him, in chap. 72.

Dionysius mentions many other Greek historians who dealt with the foundation of Rome, but, perhaps, fortunately for us, has not chronicled their opinions. Some of these may be found in Verrius Flaccus (Fest. p. 267—9, s. v. *Roma*). So far we have seen that the Greek writers of the fourth century before Christ claimed Greek connections and a mythical Greek foundation for Rome. There is no sign of any Trojan playing a prominent part in the drama; the Trojan element is represented only by captive women. But probably in consequence of the wars with Greece which began with the beginning of the third century B.C. the Romans adopted a different version of their own origin from that offered by the Greeks. The historian Timaeus, the long period of whose literary activity coincides in great part with that of the Roman wars against Pyrrhus, examined the Penates at Lavinium, and pronounced the clay of which they were made, together with the heralds' staves of brass and iron, to be of Trojan manufacture. Ernst Curtius (*Sparta und Olympia*, in the fourteenth volume of the *Hermes*) has remarked upon the prominent part which was played by centres of religious observance, such as Delphi and Olympia, in the work of joining or dividing alliances in the world of ancient Greece. It is a sign of the same tendency of feelings and ideas which appears in the claim now laid by the Romans to the Penates of Troy. Pyrrhus, it will be remembered, boasted his descent from Achilles. The Romans on their side claimed as their ancestor the greatest of the Trojan princes who survived the fall of his country. Traces of Aeneas and the θεοὶ μεγάλοι were found, as we have seen, throughout Hellas and in Sicily; it was only a step further to bring him to Latium and give to Rome not a Greek but a Trojan lineage. The anti-Hellenic interest dominant at this time made the Romans eager to seize upon a religious symbol which soon became the centre of a developed legend. The story of the foundation of Rome by Aeneas formed part of the history of Fabius Pictor, and had therefore assumed full shape by the end of the third century B.C.

Livius Andronicus indeed (284—204 B.C.) had adopted the story which made Aeneas with Antenor betray Ilium to the Greeks—a version of quite a different complexion to that which implied the irreconcilable enmity of Troy and Greece. And it may be noticed in this connection that there are signs in the case of other places, besides Rome, of a double legend, one assigning to them a Greek, the other a Trojan origin. Thus the comedian Menander, followed by Turpilius, said of the temple of Venus in Leucas that it was founded by Phaon of Lesbos; whereas Varro attributed it to Aeneas (Servius on Aen. 3. 279). So it was with Baiae, which Postumius the author of a work *de adventu Aeneae*, and Lutatius in his manual of *Communes historiae* said, was founded by Boia the nurse of Euximus, a companion of Aeneas. An older account, according to Varro, said that the name was not Boiae but Baiae, and the founder of the city was Baius, a comrade of Ulysses who was buried there (Servius on Aen. 9. 710).

Aeneas once represented as the founder of Rome, his companions were shewn by the historians and poets who succeeded Fabius Pictor to have been equally active in other places. Prochyta, according to Naevius, took its name from a kinswoman of Aeneas (Servius on Aen. 9. 715). Capua, according to Caelius Antipater, was founded by a Trojan Capys (Servius on Aen. 10. 145). A Trojan origin was assigned to Corithus (Serv. on Aen. 7. 209) and to Patavium. In the same way Caieta, as we have seen, was said to be the place where the Trojan ships were burnt.

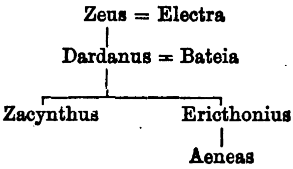
Thus under the pressure of a great national conflict the Romans called in a spurious mythology to dignify their cause. Towards the end of the first Punic war we have another instance of the same tendency. The Acarnanians, in appealing to Rome for assistance against the Aetolians, based their claim on the fact that they were the only Greeks who had sent no contingent to the aid of their countrymen in the Trojan war (Justin. 28. 1). In the same spirit the Romans deprived the Corinthians of Leucas and Anactorium, and made their towns over to Acarnania (Dionysius 1. 51). Soon afterwards comes the Roman alliance with Attalus king of Pergamus, and the transference of the Great Mother of Pessinus, the guardian deity of Aeneas, to Rome (205 B.C.). The peace made with Philip in the same year included the inhabitants of Ilium on the side of the Romans; it may be noticed that Livy (29. 12. 14) mentions Attalus and the Ilienses side by side. Nine years afterwards Flamininus, after proclaiming the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian games, dedicated at Delphi some silver shields and a golden crown with the inscriptions

Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὔμμιν ὑπέρτατον ὤπασα δῶρον, and
ὃν πόρεν Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας.

It is worth while also in this connection to read the account given in Livy (37. 37) of the interview between P. Scipio Africanus and the inhabitants of Ilium during the war with Antiochus in 190 B.C., followed by the cession to them of Rhoeteum and Gergis in 188 B.C. *non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originis memoria* (Livy 38. 39. 10). By the end of the third or the beginning of the second century B.C. the Romans are recognized as Aeneadae in the eyes of the world. In Rome Troy has conquered her ancient enemy; *Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.*

It is therefore unnecessary to speak of the later Greek historians, of Lycophron, and of the Sibylline oracles, and we may pass on to consider the next phase in the development of the story.

Hitherto the legend had been formed and used in an anti-Hellenic sense; it was different, however, in the last century of the republic, after Greece had finally ceased to be an enemy of Rome, and when the Romans had come to regard Greek culture as the main element in their future mental development. The loss of the bulk of Varro's works, and of much other intermediate literature, renders it impossible for us to trace the growth of that change in the complexion of our legend which is so patent and so complete in the pages of Dionysius. This writer is at the greatest pains to prove the truth of Aeneas' arrival in Italy. He quotes many Greek and all the Roman historians on his side, besides a number of oracles, Sibylline and Delphic, and other tokens in the shape of local rites and religious traditions. To the dangerous rationalism which suggested that Aeneas could not have died and been buried in more places than one, and yet that there were many supposed tombs of Aeneas, he replies (1. 54) that this difficulty occurs in the case of many illustrious men, and is easily to be explained by the consideration that though their bodies can only be in one place, it is possible for their memories to be enshrined in several. But Dionysius is not only jealous for the truth of his story; he has also his own reading of its signification. To him the Trojans are Hellenes, the Greeks 'Αχαιοί. Aeneas in his answer to Latinus (1. 58) says "We are Trojans by race, and were citizens of a city which was one of the most conspicuous among the Hellenes; of this we have been deprived, after a ten years' war, by the Achaeans," and so forth. Latinus answers that on his part he is friendly to the whole Hellenic race. The proof of this connection, for the truth of which Dionysius refers generally to old authorities (1. 61), is rested on the Arcadian origin of the Trojans. The genealogy is as follows:



the same as that given in verse by Vergil, Aen. 8. 134 foll.

Dionysius seems on this point to have followed the same authorities as Vergil, for the notion that the Trojans are of Hellenic race is followed out by Vergil with tolerable consistency in his selection of proper names. His Trojans have mostly Greek names: *Actor*, *Amastrus*, *Amycus*, *Anchemolus*, *Antheus*, *Aphidnus*, *Asbutes*, *Capys*, *Castor*, *Chaon*, *Chloreus*, *Chromis*, *Clonius*, *Clytius*, *Corynaeus*, *Cretheus*, *Diores*, *Dymas*, *Ericetes*, *Erymas*, *Gyges*, and the like. The Italian names, on the other hand, are ranged on the side of Turnus: *Almo*, *Amata*, *Anxur*, *Aquicolus*, *Arcetius*, *Astur*, *Atinas*, *Aventinus*, *Caedicus*, *Camers*, *Camilla*, *Cethegus*, *Clausus*, *Cupencus*, *Ebusus*, *Ebulo*, *Fadus*, *Halesus*, *Herbesus*, *Hisbo*, *Lausus*, *Liger*, *Lucagus*, *Lucetius*, *Magus*, *Messapus*, *Metabus*, *Metiscus*, *Mezentius*, *Murranus*, *Numa*, *Numanus*, *Numitor*, *Quercens*, *Rapo*, *Remulus*, *Remus*, *Saces*, *Sacrator*, *Salius*, *Sarranus*, *Sucro*, *Sulmo*, *Tiburtus*, *Tulla*, *Ufens*, *Umbro*, *Valerus*, *Venulus*, *Virbius*, *Volscens*, *Volusus*.

The story of Aeneas' alliance with the Arcadian Evander points, I need hardly add, in the same direction. I do not know whether a trace of the same idea is to be found in the theory supported by Cato, Acilius, and many other Roman historians, that the Aborigines, with whom the Trojans eventually united, were Greeks who had come to Italy long before the Trojan war (Dionysius 1. 11). But it may, I think, be perceived in the account of the part played by Diomede in the later story of Aeneas. Cassius Hemina, the historian of the end of the second century B.C., represented Diomede as giving the Palladium to Aeneas when the latter was passing through Calabria. According to Varro Diomede also gave Aeneas the bones of his father Anchises. And Vergil in the eleventh Aeneid represents the attempts of the Latins to enlist Diomede in their cause against Aeneas as failing altogether.

Let us now for a few moments consider the elements of Italian mythology and religious observance which blended with the Greek fable just mentioned. The familiar names *Lavinium, Laurentum, Alba, Penates, Indiges, Diuturna, Amata, Camilla,* are genuine Italian words, and as such point back to a condition of politics and religion long prior to the introduction of the Hellenic legend. Schwegler has rightly pointed out that the Italian centre of the story is Lavinium or Lauro-Lavinium, not Rome. Lavinium, if not the political at least the religious capital of the Alban league, continued down to a very late time to preserve living traces of its ancient importance. At Lavinium were the Penates of the Latins and their worship; at Lavinium the consuls, praetors, and dictators offered sacrifice when entering upon or laying down their public functions. Macrobius 3. 4. 11, *eodem nomine appellavit et Vestam, quam de numero Penatium aut certe comitem eorum esse manifestum est, adeo ut et consules et praetores seu dictatores cum adeunt magistratum Lavinii rem divinam faciant Penatibus pariter et Vestae:* see also Servius on Aen. 2. 296. The names *Laurentum* and *Lavinium* are without question connected in etymology; the base *lav-*, which may be the same as that which appears in *lau-rus,* being the same in both. The question may also fairly be asked, as Preller has seen, whether the names *Daunus* and *Daunia,* familiar in connection with Turnus, are not akin to Lavinium and Laurentum, exhibiting the common interchange of *d* and *l*. I do not venture to offer a decided opinion on the meaning of the root *lu-* or *lav-*, which forms the basis of these words, and also of *Laverna* and *Lavernium* (Macrob. 3. 16. 4); whether it is the same as that of *luere* and *lustrum* and contains the idea of purification, as Schwegler is inclined to think, or whether it is not rather connected with *laetus* and *luxuries*. The etymology of the ancients, which connected *Laurentum* with *laurus*, is not to be despised; compare Vergil's name *Quercens* from *quercus*, and *Pomentium* (Strabo 5. 3) or *Pometia* (Plin. 3. 68) from *pomum*. There was a place called *Lauretum* on the Aventine, *ubi silva laurus fuit* (Pliny 15. 138); Macrob. 3. 12. 3, *constat quidem nunc lauro sacrificantes apud aram maximam coronari; sed multo post Romam conditam haec consuetudo sumpsit exordium, postquam in Aventino Lauretum coepit virere, quam rem docet Varro Humanarum libro secundo.* The *laurus* was to the Romans the symbol of peace and prosperity, and was evidently from very early times associated with Italian worship. We may remember Vergil's lines, Aen. 7. 59 foll. *Laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis, Sacra comam multosque metu servata per annos, Quam pater inventam, primas cum conderet arces, Ipse ferebatur Phoebo sacrasse Latinus, Laurentesque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis.*

Lavinium then, the home of the Latin Penates, was the religious capital of the Latin league. The symbol of the league was a sow with thirty young ones, signifying the thirty cities of the confederacy. The story of the sow reminds us of the horse's head of Carthage, the wolf of Rome, the ox of Bovillae (Nonius s. v. *hilla*, and Schol. Persius 6. 55) and Buthrotum (Servius on Aen. 3. 293). On Aen. 4. 196 Servius relates a similar fable about Iarbas following a ram to the settlement of Jupiter Hammon. Varro (R. R. 2. 4. 18) tells us not only that there were in his days at Lavinium bronze figures of the sow and her young ones, but that the priests still shewed the actual body of the mother pickled in brine. Now the Latin name for a sow with young was *Troia;* and there was, if we may trust Livy 1. 1. 4, a place in the territory of Laurentum called *Troia* where Aeneas was supposed to have landed: so Festus and other authorities. Servius on Aen. 9. 9, *hanc Castrum Laurens ait dici Varro, oppidum tacet. Sed ubi primum Aeneas egressus sit, eum locum Troiam nuncupari traditur.* A *praedium Troianum* in the neighbourhood of Antium is mentioned by Cicero (Att. 9. 13. 6);

Festus mentions a *campus Tromentus*, whence the *tribus Tromentina*. *Trosulus* was the old name of a knight, and *Troia* (not *ludus Troiae*) that of the well-known cavalry tournament. Whatever the ultimate origin and the meaning of the base from which all these words are derived, and on this point I offer no opinion, there seems little doubt that *Troia* and its cognates are genuine Italian words. And if so, especially as there were remains of a large ancient encampment near Lauro-Lavinium (Serv. on Aen. 7. 32), what fact could be more welcome to a Greek dealer in cheap mythology than the appearance of the name *Troia* on Italian ground; what fact easier to combine with the rest of the Italian legend? Livy 1. 1. 23 says that *Troia* was also the name of the place where Antenor landed among the Veneti. Was the name there, as in Latium, the starting-point and support of the legend?

Another Italian feature, upon which all the recent scholars, Klausen, Schwegler, and Preller, have already commented, is the story of the eating of the tables; this, in the *scholia* attributed to Servius, is rightly referred to the *mensae paniceae* of Roman worship. The Latin Penates were easily identified with the θεοὶ μεγάλοι of Samothrace, associated, as we have seen, with the worship of Ἀφροδίτη Αἰνειάς. There was a temple of Venus at Antium (Plin. 3. 57) and at Lavinium (Strabo 5. 3). The latter was probably the *Venus Frutis* to whom according to Cassius Hemina (ap. Solin. 2. 14) Aeneas dedicated the image which he had brought from Sicily. I see no reason for identifying the word *Frutis* with the Greek Ἀφροδίτη; why should it not be a genuine Italian name? Finally Aeneas himself was made one with the *Jupiter Indiges* of the country.

It is worth observing that in its main outline the story of the fortunes of Aeneas after landing in Italy somewhat resembles that of the founding of Troy by Teucer as given by Servius on Aen. 3. 108. Servius mentions two versions of the legend; one that Scamander, driven by a famine from Crete, migrated to Phrygia, and after conquering the neighbouring Bebrycians in battle disappeared in the river Xanthus: *victor in Xantho flumine lapsus non comparuit*. So the legend of Aeneas as presented by Cassius Hemina and Tibullus 2. 5. 45, *Illic sanctus eris, cum te veneranda Numici Unda deum caelo miserit Indigetem:* compare Juvenal 11. 60, *alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus,* and Servius on Aen. 4. 619. Scamander's kingdom, it is added, descended to his son Teucer, as that of Aeneas to Iulus. Another version of the story, which reminds us of the tale of Aeneas and Lavinia, made Teucer marry the daughter of Dardanus, and give his name to the race.

Thus in the last century of the republic the story of Aeneas, born of language and fostered by national interest, had become a fixed article of the Roman creed. Greek historians had asserted it, poets like Naevius and Ennius had adorned it, antiquarians had established it on the firm basis of research. Before examining Vergil's treatment of the story it will be best to put together such notices as remain of the manner in which it was handled by the Roman authors from Fabius Pictor to Varro. For it is the Roman authors, in all probability, to whom the poet is most indebted.

In the version adopted by Fabius Pictor[1] Aeneas had the whole of his future sufferings and achievements revealed to him in a dream. The story of the swine and her young ones appears in its fully developed form; but the thirty young ones are interpreted as meaning thirty years during which Aeneas is to wait before putting his hand to building his new city. Fabius also had the story of the suicide of Amata, though in a different form from that in which it is given in the twelfth Aeneid.

Postumius Albinus (about 150 B.C.) attributed the foundation of Baiae to Boia the nurse of Boius, one of the comrades of Aeneas. Cato was an authority for the Trojan origin of the Veneti, and pursued the story of Aeneas' landing in Latium, and his subsequent fortunes there, in some detail. He attributed to Aeneas the foundation of the Italian village *Troia;* the name *Latini* he represented as given to the Aborigines after the junction of the Latins with the Volscian Aborigines on the arrival of the Phrygian Aeneas. Cassius Hemina, towards the end of the second century B.C., stated that Aeneas landed in Italy in the second summer after the taking of Troy, and set up his camp with no more than six hundred companions. He brought with him from Sicily an image of Venus, which he dedicated to Venus Frutis. From Diomede he took the Palladium; reigned for three years in alliance with Latinus, from whom he had received a grant of five hundred *iugera;* for two more years, after the death of Latinus, he reigned alone, and disappeared finally on the banks of the Numicius, to be worshipped as *Pater Indiges.* The Penates were identified by Cassius with the θεοὶ μεγάλοι of Samothrace.

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[1] See note at the end of the Essay.

Caelius Antipater, a historian of the same period, attributed the foundation of Capua to Capys, a cousin of Aeneas. In the last century of the republic Sisenna took up the Trojan legend, differing from Livius Andronicus in not exhibiting Aeneas as a traitor to his country. The story of Aeneas was probably treated in great detail and perfect faith by Varro, from whom Servius has several quotations of more or less importance which I have endeavoured to collect. Varro represented the Penates, whom he identified with the *Di Magni,* as wooden or marble figures brought by Aeneas to Italy (Serv. on Aen. 3. 12). Originally they were carried by Dardanus from Samothrace to Phrygia, and afterwards from Phrygia by Aeneas to Italy. The story of the Palladium (Serv. Aen. 2. 166) was treated by Varro in much detail. According to the version which he adopted, the sacred image remained in the hands of Diomede, by whom it was offered to Aeneas while the latter was passing through Calabria. Diomede also gave to Aeneas the bones of his father Anchises (Serv. Aen. 4. 427). Aeneas in his wanderings was guided by a star, Lucifer or the *Stella Veneris,* which moved in front of him until he arrived at the territory of Laurentum (Serv. Aen. 1. 382). In Dodona he received the oracle prophesying the famine and the eating of the tables. In Leucas he founded the temple to Venus attributed by Menander to Phaon the Lesbian. Varro when in Epirus took note of the names of the places where Aeneas had set his foot; his list of names was the same as Vergil's (Serv. Aen. 3. 349). He gave further details about the progeny of the sow, whose body, as we have seen, was shewn him preserved in brine at Lavinium (Serv. Aen. 3. 392). Anna, the sister of Dido, perished in the flames of her own funeral pyre for love of Aeneas (Serv. Aen. 4. 682, 5. 4). The name of

Castrum Laurens (Serv. Aen. 9. 8) kept up the memory of Aeneas' camp near Laurentum.

Thus it is clear that Varro must have brought Aeneas to Carthage. What was his authority for this addition to the current story, an addition of which there is no mention in Livy or Dionysius, and which conflicted in the most glaring manner with the commonly received chronology[1], is not clear. It is generally assumed that Naevius is responsible for the notion of a meeting between Aeneas and Dido; but the assumption is based upon a line and a half of Naevius, *blande atque docte percontat, quo pacto Troiam urbem reliquerit,* in which the subject of *percontat* is taken to be Dido. It is unfortunate that we cannot trace more closely the *genesis* of the story. Did it rest on a confusion between the Carthaginian Anna and Anna Perenna, the Italian goddess of the year? Some such inference is suggested by the identification of the two in Ovid's Fasti.

Let us now briefly examine the account adopted or invented by Vergil, and compare it with the tradition followed by Livy and Dionysius.

The stages of Aeneas' wanderings as given by Dionysius are as follows. From Troy he goes to Pallene, where he leaves some of his sick and weakly followers; thence to Delos, thence to Cythera, thence to Zacynthus, where, owing to old ties of blood, he is kindly received. Here Aeneas institutes a gymnastic contest for the youth, which is still kept up. Thence he passes on to Leucas, Actium, Ambracia; from Ambracia Anchises goes to Buthrotum and Aeneas to Dodona, where he meets Helenus and the Trojans with him; next to Italy, where a contingent was left to form a settlement on the Iapygian promontory. Meanwhile Aeneas sails to Sicily, where he founds Elymus and Segesta, and leaves part of his own following, and thence to Italy, where he lands successively at Palinurus, at Leucasia, at Misenum, at Caieta, and at Laurentum.

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[1] Servius on Aen. 4. 459, nam quod de Didone et Aenea dicitur falsum est. Constat enim Aeneam CCCXL. annos ante aedificationem Romae venisse in Italiam, cum Karthago non nisi XL. annis ante aedificationem Romae constructa sit. According to Timaeus, Rome and Carthage were founded on the same day.

Livy's account is, compared with this, a mere abridgment. He makes only two stages between Troy and Italy, namely Macedonia and Sicily. Vergil must apparently have drawn upon the same sources as Dionysius, though he varies the details, and (in the case of Carthage) makes an addition of which the historians know nothing. Thrace, Delos, Leucas, Buthrotum, Sicily, appear both in the narrative of Dionysius and in the third Aeneid; Vergil adds Crete and the Strophades. The story of the burning of the ships by the Trojan women, which we have seen to be as old as Aristotle, is localized by Vergil in Sicily. Dionysius mentions games instituted by Aeneas at Zacynthus; of these Vergil knows nothing, but devotes a whole book to games celebrated in Sicily in honour of Anchises, who according to his account had died at Drepanum.

Vergil rightly seized upon the fact that Sicily was the centre of the story of Aeneas. Legends of a Trojan settlement there had been alive since the fifth century B.C., and, what was more important for Vergil's poetical purpose, Sicily was the meeting-point of Rome and Carthage. The great idea which inspires the first part of the Aeneid, the idea with which the poem opens, is that of bringing Rome and Carthage into a mythical connection. The authority whom Vergil immediately followed in the matter I suspect to have been Varro, who, as we have seen, represented Anna the sister of Dido as perishing in the flames for love of Aeneas. That Vergil drew largely upon the stores of antiquarian information collected by Varro may be taken as morally certain; his view of the Penates is essentially that of Varro; and other features of the legend, as Aeneas' presence in Leucas and his following the prodigy of the white sow, were, as we have seen, emphasized by Varro in great detail.

So familiar are we with the story of the Aeneid that we are apt to forget what violence it does to the tradition generally current in Vergil's time. That tradition is represented by the third Aeneid; there Aeneas is brought as far as Sicily, after a course of wandering corresponding fairly with that described by Livy and Dionysius. But in order to bring in the new element of the story, Aeneas must be carried to Carthage from Sicily before he can be allowed to go on to Latium. The fifth book, as it now stands, implies a second visit to Sicily after the tragedy of Carthage. It is difficult to suppose that so awkward a combination as this can have entered into the original plan of the Aeneid. As things now stand it might occur to the reader that the fifth Aeneid would naturally have followed the third, as the sixth might naturally have followed the fourth. Vergil had not, probably, at the time of his death, harmonized the Sicilian and Carthaginian episodes in a manner satisfactory to himself.

The way in which Vergil, for the purposes of his epic, has altered the story of Dido, is as striking and characteristic as anything in the whole range of his poetry. In the universally accepted tradition Dido's tragic end was due to her resolution not to become the wife of Iarbas; and what in Vergil is represented as coming upon her as a curse for the breach of her vow is, in the genuine story, the honourable result of her constancy. No doubt Vergil felt that Varro's version of the story, according to which not Dido, but her sister, was sacrificed for love of Aeneas, would have been tame and pointless in his epic poem; he therefore ventured on a bolder flight, and carried the day. No part of the Aeneid, if we may trust Ovid, was more eagerly read than the fourth book; and all readers were forced to acknowledge the skill with which he made their tears flow in a fictitious cause.

In comparing Vergil's account of the early fortunes of Dido with that of Trogus Pompeius (Justin 18. 4—6) the reader is struck with some minute coincidences of language which may shew that both writers drew upon the same source, but that Vergil for the sake of brevity mutilated the narrative. Take the two accounts of Dido's flight from Tyre. Sychaeus, it will be remembered, is in Trogus' narrative called Acerbas.

Justin 18. 4. 8, *qua (fama) incensus Pygmalion oblitus iuris humani avunculum suum eundemque generum* sine respectu pietatis *occidit.* Dido then is Pygmalion's daughter, and great-niece of her husband. In Vergil Pygmalion is only the *germanus* of Dido, Aen. 1. 346, *sed regna Tyri germanus habebat Pygmalion, scelere ante alios immanior omnes...Ille Sychaeum* Impius *ante aras atque auri caecus amore Clam ferro incautum* *superat, securus amorum Germanae.* Justin l. c. *Elissa fugam molitur adsumptis quibusdam principibus in societatem,* quibus par odium in regem esse eandemque fugae cupiditatem arbitrabatur...*Sed Elissa ministros migrationis a rege missos navibus cum omnibus opibus suis prima vespera imponit, provectaque in altum compellit eos onera harenae pro pecunia involucris involuta in mare deicere. Tunc deflens ipsa lugubrique voce Acerbam ciet...tunc ipsos ministros adgreditur; sibi quidem ait optatam olim mortem, sed illis acerbos cruciatus et dira supplicia imminere, qui Acerbae opes, quarum spe parricidium fecerat, avaritiae tyranni subtraxerint.* Hoc metu omnibus iniecto comites fugae accepit.

This is a clear and intelligible narrative. Dido associates with herself some of the nobles who, as she thinks, hate Pygmalion as much as she does, and she further devises a means to work upon their fears. But Vergil abbreviates the narrative till it becomes difficult to understand: *Conveniunt, quibus aut odium crudele tyranni, Aut metus acer erat.* Servius explains this passage, which evidently appeared to him difficult, by reference to a narrative perhaps not unlike that of Trogus; *metuebant laedendi, hoc est, qui timebant ne laederentur; unde est illud in quarto* (545) et quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli; *quia non voluntate sed aut odio aut timore convenerant.*

Then again Vergil's *naves quae forte paratae* is very vague. Servius explains it by reference to a narrative quite different to that of Trogus; *moris enim erat ut de pecunia publica Phoenices misso a rege auro de peregrinis frumenta conveherent. Dido autem a Pygmalione ad hunc usum paratas naves abstulerat; quam cum fugientem a fratre missi sequerentur, aurum illa praecipitavit in mare, qua re visa sequentes reversi sunt. Licet et alio ordine historia ista narratur.*

The fragment of Timaeus (23 Müller) in which these events are narrated gives an account which compared with that of Justin is an abridgment. *τοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ὑπὸ Πυγμαλίωνος ἀναιρεθέντος, ἐνθεμένη τὰ χρήματα εἰς σκάφος, μετὰ τίνων πολιτῶν ἔφευγε, καὶ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσασα τῇ Λιβύῃ προσηνέχθη, καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῆς πλάνην Δειδὼ προσηγορεύθη ἐπιχωρίοις.*

The fourth Aeneid, however much it may differ from the received tradition, contains a few touches for which Vergil may perhaps be indebted to it. Justin 18. 6 gives the following account of Elissa's death. *Diu Acerbae viri nomine cum multis lacrimis et lamentatione flebili vocato ad postremum ituram se quo suae urbis fata vocarent respondit. In hoc trium mensium sumpto spatio, pyra in ultima parte urbis instructa, velut placatura viri manes inferiasque ante nuptias missura, multas hostias caedit et sumpto gladio pyram conscendit, atque ita ad populum respiciens ituram se ad virum, sicut praeceperint, dixit, vitamque gladio finivit.* Timaeus l. c. *τοῦ τῶν Λιβύων βασιλέως θέλοντος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, αὐτὴ μὲν ἀντέλεγεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν συναναγκαζομένη, σκηψαμένη τελετὴν πρὸς ἀνάλυσιν ὅρκων ἐπιτελέσειν, πυρὰν μεγίστην ἐγγὺς τοῦ οἴκου κατασκευάσασα καὶ ἅψασα, ἀπὸ τοῦ δώματος αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πυρὰν ἔρριψεν.* The vow of constancy, the pyre and the sword, the excuse for raising the pyre, are adopted by Vergil. It may again be observed that Timaeus' account is the shorter, and also that it differs from that of Trogus as to the manner of Elissa's death.

As for the fortunes of Aeneas after his landing in Latium, there were two main traditions, one of which represented Aeneas as obtaining the hand of Lavinia only after war with her father Latinus, the other that there was no fighting with Latinus at all, but that war arose after his death in consequence of the claims of Turnus to the hand of Lavinia.

The first, which is the basis of the version adopted and modified by Vergil, is alluded to by Servius on Aen. 4. 620, who quotes Cato as his authority. A quarrel breaks out between Aeneas and Latinus in consequence of plundering on the part of Aeneas' companions; in the battle which ensues Latinus is slain. So Servius on Aen. 9. 745, *si veritatem historiae requiris, primo proelio interemptus est Latinus.* See also Serv. Aen. 1. 259. Livy 1. 1 gives a slightly different account: *alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum Aenea, deinde adfinitatem iunxisse tradunt.* The other tradition is given by Livy in the following terms: *alii* (*tradunt*) *cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent, processisse Latinum inter primores, ducemque advenarum evocasse ad con-*

loquium: percontatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo, quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurentem exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria et domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique, et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextera data fidem futurae amicitiae sanxisse. There is a general resemblance between this description and Vergil's words in the seventh Aeneid (229): *Dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus Innocuum, et cunctis undamque auramque patentem...Fata per Aeneae iuro dextramque potentem, Sive fide, seu quis bello est expertus et armis.* It may be that Vergil, though varying the tradition for his own purposes, is working upon the same materials as Livy.

The account given by Dionysius represents Latinus as at war with the Rutuli when Aeneas landed. Latinus is forbidden by oracles to fight with the stranger, and advised rather to ally himself with the Ἕλληνες. Aeneas advances his claims, and receives from Latinus an assurance which recalls Dido's *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.* The Trojan hero marries Lavinia; the Aborigines and Rutuli receive the name of Latini, but afterwards the Rutuli, under the leadership of Turnus, who is branded as an αὐτόμολος, desert the alliance. Turnus fights for his lost love, and both he and Latinus die in the battle.

The account given by Dionysius tallies on the whole with that attributed by Servius, Aen. 6. 760, to Cato. The Etruscan element in the story, represented by Mezentius, is treated by Vergil quite in a way of his own. For, however they may differ in details, the tradition as given both by Cato and by the authorities whom Dionysius follows represents Mezentius as falling in a war which arose some time after the death of Turnus. Mezentius is indeed an ally of Turnus, but is not killed until after the final settlement of Aeneas in his kingdom; according to Cato it was by Ascanius, according to Dionysius' authorities by Aeneas himself, three years after the battle in which Turnus and Latinus were slain. As in the case of Dido, Vergil does violence to the accepted order of events—Turnus must be slain before Aeneas can finally obtain the hand of

Lavinia; thus the last half of the Aeneid is provided with its element of romance; and Mezentius falls before Turnus in a war in which both are simultaneously engaged.

It is evident that Vergil had a tradition or traditions to work upon many of the details of which are now lost, but which is most fully preserved by Dionysius. Fragments of them are preserved by Servius on Aen. 7. 51, *Amata...duos filios voluntate patris Aeneae spondentes sororem factione interemit...Hos alii caecatos a matre tradunt, postquam amisso Turno Lavinia Aeneae iuncta est.* Does this imply that there was, independently of the Aeneid, a story according to which Turnus died before the marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia? In any case it implies that Amata survived Turnus, and this is different from the account in the Aeneid. Another detail is mentioned by Servius on Aen. 7. 484, *Tyrrhus dictus est pastor apud quem Lavinia peperit.*

The considerations on which I have been dwelling will be found, I think, to throw some light on the difficulties with which Vergil had to contend. The traditions on which alone he could work had neither form nor life. Aeneas had never, so far as we can see, not even in the Homeric poems, been a hero in the sense in which the word can be used of Achilles, Ulysses, Ajax, or Diomede. Even in Homer the protection of Aphrodite and Apollo hangs heavily around him. In the places where he is worshipped he is a mere name; a shadowy demi-god associated with the worship of Aphrodite. As a founder of cities he has no characteristic to distinguish him from the many fabulous *οἰκισταί* of Greek and Italian towns. The Homeric heroes do not found cities, but destroy them; the civilizing and beneficent hero, on whose features Dionysius dwells with pleasure, is the creature, if not of philosophy, at least of a late and reflective stage of mythology. To make out of so shadowy a being as the Aeneas of legend a hero of war and peace, fit to be the founder of an imperial city, was no easy task, especially for a poet who considered it his first duty to construct his epic in words, manner, and arrangement, on the model of the Iliad and Odyssey.

H. NETTLESHIP.

NOTE ON THE *GRAECI ANNALES* OF FABIUS PICTOR.

CICERO, *De Divinatione* I. § 43, says, *hisque adiungatur etiam Aeneae somnium, quod in nostri Fabii Pictoris Graecis annalibus eiusmodi est, ut omnia quae ab Aenea gesta sunt, quaeque illi acciderunt, ea fuerint, quae ei secundum quietem visa sunt.* The words *Graeci annales* are usually explained as meaning "annals written in Greek." No doubt Dionysius (1. 6) mentions Fabius Pictor as one of the historians who had written in Greek on the early legends of Rome: but I submit that the words *Graeci annales,* if they are to be explained on the analogy of *Romana historia* and the like, should mean "Greek history," not "history written in Greek." Cicero Brutus § 77, *historia quaedam Graeca, scripta dulcissime:* Tusc. 5. 112 (quoted by Jahn), *Cn. Aufidius...Graecam scribebat historiam:* but Brutus § 81, *A. Albinus, is qui Graece scripsit historiam. Graeca quaedam historia* in the first of these passages I suppose to mean "a certain Greek story:" *Graecam historiam* in the second to mean "Greek history" in general. And it is certainly strange that Cicero should nowhere else mention the fact that Fabius Pictor wrote in Greek, but should always speak of him with Cato as exemplifying the baldness of early Latin prose. I am inclined to suppose that Fabius Pictor wrote the bulk of his great work in Latin, and that the *Graeci Annales,* or Greek history, formed a separate book in which the story of Aeneas was contained. That this was written in Greek it would be rash to doubt in face of the express testimony of Dionysius: but I contend that Cicero never says so. Possibly Fabius took over this part of his history directly from a Greek writer.

H. NETTLESHIP.

ON SOME PASSAGES OF VALERIUS FLACCUS.

I. 420. *Taurea uulnifico portat* †*celera plumbo*
Terga Lacon, saltem in uacuos ut bracchia uentos
Spargat.

For *celera,* Carrion introduced from a late MS. the obvious interpolation *caelataque.* Valerius would not have allowed a *que* so far removed from its proper place. I suggest

Taurea uulnifico fert alternantia plumbo.

I. 501. *Vna omnes gaudent superi uenturaque mundo*
Tempora quaeque uias cernunt sibi crescere Parcae.

So the MSS. and so Thilo and Schenkl. The construction is *superi Parcaeque quae cernunt uentura m. t. uiasque sibi crescere.* By *uias* I understand 'modes of operation,' now enlarged by the introduction of navigation. Bährens' *Enyo* for *mundo* is quite unnecessary. Very similar is I. 651, *depellitque notos, quos caerulus horror Et madido grauis unda sinu longeque secutus Imber ad Aeoliae tendunt simul aequora portae,* i.e. *quos secuti horror et unda imberque.*

II. 28. *Mole resurgentem torquentemque anguibus undas*
Sicanium dedit usque fretum cumque urbibus Aetnam
Intulit ora premens.

It is difficult to believe that Valerius can have used *dedit* in the sense of 'conveyed,' without adding *in* to make his expression intelligible. I suspect the two words have changed places and that *tulit* ought to be read in v. 29, *Indidit* in v. 30.

II. 102. *Exitium furiale mouet* (Venus); *neque enim alma uideri*
Iam †*tum ea cum reti*† *crinem subnectitur auro*
Sidereos diffusa sinus; eadem effera et ingens
Et maculis suffecta genas, pinumque sonantem
Virginibus Stygiis nigramque simillima pallam.

Schenkl reads *Iam tum ea ceu tereti, ceu* from Barth, *tereti* with the Munich MS.; Thilo retains *reti* and reads *aureo.* To me the most exceptionable point in the line is *Iam tum ea,* partly from the rare elision, partly from the obscurity of *Iam tum,* which can only refer to the moment at which Venus, detected with Mars, began *already* to feel anger against Lemnos, her husband's favourite abode. Heinsius mentions as the reading of one MS. *Iam tunica aut tereti,* and this, or possibly *tunica et tereti,* I believe to be right. She was no longer gentle to look upon with the loose-falling tunic she wears in her light moods, but wore the black and trailing robe of the Furies, as beseemed one in wrath. Valerius perhaps had Apollonius Rhodius in view, I. 742, where one of the devices embroidered on the robe given to Iason by Athene is Citherea carrying the shield of Ares. *ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμου* Πῆχυν *ἔπι σκαιὸν ξυνοχὴ κεχάλαστο χιτῶνος* Νέρθεν *ὑπὲκ μαζοῖο.*

II. 235. *diras aliae ad fastigia taedas*
Iniciunt adduntque domos.

Possibly *abduntque* 'hide in smoke.'

II. 247. *Inruerant actae pariter nataeque nurusque.*

Ap. R. I. 633, *Δήια τεύχεα δῦσαι ἐς αἰγιαλὸν προχέοντο.*

II. 367. *Et lunam quarto densam uidet imbribus ortu*
Thespiades, longus coeptis et fluctibus arcet
Qui metus.

Schenkl reads *Quem.* Surely *Qui* is right 'an apprehension which is lingering and keeps men away from breakers they have begun (to traverse).' I do not agree with Burmann in taking *coeptis* as a substantive; still less would I alter *et* to *a,* but is *et* 'even,' or does it connect *longus* with *coeptis?* I think the latter, i.e. *Qui metus longus* (*est*) *et arcet* (*iam*) *coeptis fluctibus.*

II. 376. Schenkl marks a lacuna before this verse. I would suggest as possible in the contracted style of Valerius that the construction is *fraudatas esse desertas domos uotaque patrum segni tempore* 'they had disappointed by idling in Lemnos the promise given in leaving their homes and the vows made by their fathers for a quick voyage and a safe return.'.

II. 395. *et quando natorum tempora, gentem*
Qui recolant, qui sceptra gerant?

Schenkl reads *corpora* for *tempora*. If this word is corrupt, I would suggest *pondera*: 'when would children be born, the burden of their wombs?'

II. 519. *intremere Ide*
Inlidique ratis pronaeque resurgere turres.

Valerius is describing the effect produced by the approach of the sea-monster to devour Hesione. 'Ida trembled, the Argo was dashed against the water, and (with its agitated motion) the towers (of Troy) descended and rose again,' viz. to the disordered eyes of the Argonauts. It would be easier to suppose the towers on the Argo, which sink as the ship's side is dashed upon the water and rise again as it rights itself, but of this there seems to be no indication, unless *ab arce ratis*, III. 469, can be thought one.

III. 50. *Saetigerum latus et toruae coma sibila frontis.*

Sibila is usually explained 'wreathed with rustling pine.' The word more naturally suggests *reeds*. Cf. Ovid M. XIII. 894 *Incinctus iuuenis flexis noua cornua cannis* of Acis; and in the same book the flutings of Polyphemus' *fistula* are called *pastoria sibila* (785).

III. 120. *Talis in arma ruit, nec uina dapesque remotae,*
Statque loco torus † *inquo omen mansere ministri.*

Bentley altered *in quo omen* to *insomnes*. This is somewhat wide of the MS., which would naturally be a corruption of *inque omen*, as had occurred to me before I found that Bährens had made the same conjecture. *Mansere* I believe to be right: the servants did not move; but left the banquet just as it was when their master was summoned from his pervigilium to war, as an omen that something was wrong. In one of Dickens' novels a disappointed bride, if I remember right, has the room in which the wedding breakfast is laid out, shut up and left for years just as it was prepared for the ceremony.

III. 296. *quod si iam bella manebant*
Et placitum hoc superis, nonne haec mea iustius essent
Funera, meque tuus   nunc plangeret error?

Carrion's codex supplemented the lacuna with *potius;* would not *melius* be a more likely word?

III. 392. *At quibus inuito maduerunt sanguine dextrae*
†*Sed fors saeua tulit miseros èt proxima culpae.*

Seu is perhaps more probable than *Si* (Schenkl).

III. 439. *Tunc piceae mactantur oues, prosectaque partim*
Pectora, per medios partim gerit obuius Idmon.

Schenkl changes *Pectora* to *Viscera:* unnecessarily I think, cf. *Pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.*

III. 501. *Corripe prima uias: finem cum Phasidis alti*
Transierit Perses aciemque admouerit urbi,
Coepta refer paulumque nefas et foedera necte
Consiliis atque arte tua.

Burmann changed *nefas* to *moras,* which is violent. Perhaps *paulumque* is the seat of corruption, for which Valerius may have written *fraudumque,* cf. VI. 16 *adfari Minyas fraudemque tyranni Vt moneant.*

III. 511. *Quam Nemeen tot fessa minis, quae* †*belua Lernae*
Experiar? Phrygiis ultro concurrere monstris
Nempe uirum et pulchro reserantem Pergama †*ponto*
Vidimus.

Read *uolnera* and *penso.*

III. 558. *Stagna uaga sic luce micant; ubi Cynthia caelo*
Prospicit aut medii transit rota candida Phoebi,
Tale iubar diffundit aquis.

Heinsius changed *sic* to *ceu:* wrongly, I am persuaded. It is just these slight deviations from ordinary form which ought to be studied and retained: the sense is palpable in either case. A more obscure, but partially parallel case is Prop. IV. 15. 31—34:

> Ac ueluti magnos ubi ponunt aequora motus
>   Eurus ubi aduerso desinit ire noto,
> Litore sic tacito sonitus rarescit harenae,
>   Sic cadit inflexo lapsa puella gradu.

i. e. As when the sea begins to grow calm and the east wind lulls, just such is the gradually fainter sonnd of the breakers on the beach, such the gradual exhaustion of Antiope; in other words, the increasing faintness of the woman and the increasing exhaustion of the elements are exactly parallel.

III. 579. *ceu pectora nautis*
Congelat hiberni uultus Iouis agricolisue,
Cum coit umbra minax.

Possibly *Cum coit imbre* (Heinsius) *Mimas.* I have attempted to show in my University College Dissertation for 1872 that the right reading of Prop. IV. 7. 22 *Quae notat Argynni poena minantis aquae* is *Mimantis;* and I may say that I have rarely come across the name of this bluff promontory in Latin without finding it spelt *Minas* in one or more MSS.

III. 646. *potioribus ille*
Deteriora fouens, semperque inuersa tueri
Durus.

In spite of the difficulties raised by Thilo, Eyssenhardt, and others, I cannot think this passage doubtful. Meleager supports the worse cause by the better reasoning: like Kreon in the Oedipus Coloneus, he is *κἀπὸ πάντος ἂν φέρων Λόγου δικαίου μηχάνημα ποικίλον.*

IV. 129. *nec iam mora morti*
Hinc erit ulla tuae: reges preme dure secundos.

All will be intelligible if *treme* be substituted for *preme,* 'quail thou before the princes when they greet Pollux (thy rival) with applause,' as they do in v. 297.

IV. 290. *redit huc oculis et pondere Bebryx*
Sic ratus, ille autem celeri rapit ora sinistra.

For *Sic ratus* perhaps *Inprobus.*

V. 195. *meque his tuteris in oris*
Tot freta tot †durae properanti(a) sidera passum.

Perhaps *brumae.*

V. 644. *Et tibi, magne pater, terris donaria certant.*
Est honor his etiam suus. ego clara Mycenes
Culmina, uirgineas praeder si Cecropis arces,
Iam coniunx, iam te gemitu lacrimisque tenebit
Nata querens.

The Bologna edition of 1484 adds *Ast* between *suus* and *ego,* and so Thilo and Schenkl. Bährens proposed *En.* To me the rhythm of the line seems intolerable with a full pause after *suus.* Hence I suggest that a second *est* has fallen out: *Est honor his etiam suus, est. Ego,* &c. Mars is asserting with the modesty of firm conviction, the dignity of his grove and shrine: hence the repeated *est* has a point of its own, while it might easily drop out, as a repetition.

VI. 61. *Cimmerias ostentat opes, cui candidus olim*
Crinis inest, natale decus.

Ptolem. Heph. VI. *καὶ Γαλάτου τινὸς υἱὸς Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκλήθη, ὃν ἐκ γενετῆς πολιὸν γενέσθαι φησί.*

VI. 69. *Acesinaque laeuo*
Omine fatidicae Phrixus mouet agmina ceruae.

As Phrixus here carries with him a doe, so Caranus *religiose obseruauit quocumque agmen moueret ante signa easdem capras habere, coeptorum duces habiturus, quas regni habuerat auctores.* Justin VII. 1.

VI. 230. *Fulmineumque uiris †profundis ingerit ensem*
Huc alternus et huc.

Profundens is doubtful metrically, and not very appropriate as a word; may not *pro fundis* 'as rapidly as the blows from so many slings' be right? Cf. Hyg. P. A. II. 28 *muricibus id est maritimis conchyliis hostis sit iaculatus pro lapidum iactatione.*

VI. 237. (*abies*) *docilis relegi docilisque relinqui*
Atque iterum medios non altior ire per hostes.

If *non altior* requires alteration, I would suggest *conlectior* 'with more concentrated force.' But perhaps the meaning is simply that the spear, when recovered and launched again, is always sent lightly; 'not more penetrating than before.'

VI. 246. *laeuum per luminis orbem*
Transigitur; tenerae † *linquuntur uulnere malae.*

Ph. Wagner altered *linquuntur* to *tinguuntur;* Burmann and an excellent critic in the Philologus (XXXVIII. 57) to *liquuntur:* may not the right word be *linguntur,* 'are licked'? The blood as it spreads *laps* the cheeks.

VI. 582. *quotque unus equos, quot funderet arma,*
† *Orantesque uiros quam densis sisteret hastis.*

Either *Horrentes* as the Italians emended, or perhaps *Florentes,* cf. Virgil's *florentes aere cateruas.*

VII. 21. *Tum iactata toro* † *tumque experta cubile.*

Obviously *totumque.* Cat. L. 11 *toto indomitus furore lecto Versarer* of a similarly sleepless night.

VII. 50. *uobisne domos, uobisne penates*
Esse putem, ratis infandis quos sola rapinis
Saeuaque pascit hiemps, et quos, credamus ut ipsis,
Rex suus inlisit pelago, uetuitque reuerti?

Inlisit can scarcely be right: perhaps *inclusit.* So 229, *nec nos, o nata, malignus Cluserit hoc uno semper sub frigore mensis.*

VII. 84. *clarumque serena Arce Pharon.*

See Mayor on Juv. XII. 75, where the passages are collected with his usual admirable exhaustiveness.

VII. 243. *incendia mentis*, a rare imitation of Catullus LXIV. 226.

VII. 266. *Per tibi siquis, ait, morituri protinus horror,*
Et quem non meritis uideas occurrere monstris,
Haec precor, haec dominae referas ad uirginis aurem.

V. 267 would be clearer if we suppose it a parenthetical question 'If you shrink at all from the thought of one doomed to instant death (and who is there that you could calmly see face monsters he never deserved to encounter?).'

VII. 355. *Cingitur inde sinus, et qua sibi fida magis uis*
Nulla Prometheae florem de sanguine fibrae
Caucaseum promit nutritaque gramina ponti.
Quae sacer ille niues inter tristesque pruinas
Durat editque cruor, cum uiscere uultur adeso
Tollitur e scopulis et rostro inrorat aperto.

Haupt rejects *ponti*, which is meaningless here, though Caucasus might be included in Pontus, and poisons *nascuntur plurima Ponto*, Ecl. VIII. 96. Valerius, one of the most specific of poets, would hardly have gone out of his way to spoil the particularity of his description of the βοτάνη Προμηθέως (Plut. de Fluv. v.) by a *general* characteristic, even if we admit the genitive to be possible. I believe the right word to be not as Haupt doubtingly suggested *uentis*, but *sonti* 'herbs nourished by the guilty Prometheus,' i.e. by his blood as explained in the immediately following lines.

VII. 551. *Ipsius aspectu pereant in uellera et ipsa*
Terga mihi diros seruent infecta cruores.

Schenkl, I believe, is right in reading *pereat, ne*, but hardly in supposing that *uellera* has got in as a gloss on *terga*. It seems possible that *uelleris* was written *uellere*, and that from this arose first *uellerae*, then *uellera et*.

VII. 554. *Pars in Echionii subeunt immania dentis*
Semina.

Surely *in* is defensible, 'to carry.'

VIII. 46. *Linquo domos patrias te propter opesque meorum;*
Nec iam nunc regina loquor, sceptrisque relictis
Vota sequor.

If *nunc* is genuine, it must be constructed closely with *regina* 'nor do I any longer speak as still a princess.' But it seems likely that the word is corrupt; perhaps *ceu.*

VIII. 60. *Ipsius en oculos et lumina torua draconis*
Aspicis: ille suis haec uibrat fulgura cristis
Meque pauens contra solam uidet aduocat ultro,
Ceu solet et blanda poscit me pabula lingua.

The situation is this. Iason and Medea have entered the sacred grove of Mars, when suddenly Iason observes a light flashing from the gloom. He asks what it is. Medea replies in the four lines quoted. 'It is the fire-flashing eyes of my serpent that you see. It is his way of summoning me to feed him.' But why should the serpent show any fear at the sight of Medea *alone?* She was not alone, and he would have no fear if she were. Rather, it is the presence of a stranger that would frighten him. Hence *solam* must be wrong: *contra* suggests that the original word was *solem,* 'facing the sun,' like *nubila contra,* IV. 94. The serpent sees Medea's shadow, is scared by the intrusive sun-light, and expresses its irritation by agitating its crest and flashing fire from its eyes. The rest of the words *Meque pauens contra solem uidet* are explicable as they stand: but it seems possible that the two verbs have changed places, and that we should read *Meque uidens contra solem pauet;* for *aduocat* Carrion's MS. gave *ac uocat,* probably rightly. That this view of the passage is right is made more probable by the words of Medea when taking farewell of her grim favourite, v. 100:

Heu saeuum passure diem! iam nulla uidebis
Vellera, nulla tua fulgentia dona sub umbra,

where the words *saeuum diem* may very plausibly be referred to the abhorrence of the dragon at being dragged into the light of day.

VIII. 285. *Dixerat atque orans iterum uentosque uirosque*
Perque ratis supplex et remigis uexilla magistris.

This passage, than which none in the Argonautica is more corrupt, may perhaps be restored thus:

Perque ratis supplex fremit, et uox lata magistris,

'raves with entreaties through the ships, while, as he speaks, his words are passed to the steersmen.'

R. ELLIS.

PETRONIANUM.

PHILLIPPS MS. 9672, according to the Catalogue, of the tenth century, begins abruptly with the following words. *Ut ait petronius nos magistri inscolis soli relinquemur nisi multos palpauerimus et insidias auribus fecerimus ego uero non ita. nam medius fidius paucorum gratia multis mea prostitui. Sic tamen consilium meum contraxi ut uulgus prophanum et ferraginem* (sic) *scole petulcam excluderem. Nam simulatores ingenii exsecrando studium et professores domestici studii dissimulando magistrum. tum et scolastice disputationis hystriones inanium uerborum pugnis armati tales quidem mea castra sequuntur sed extra palacium quos sola nominis detulit aura mei ut in partibus suis studio pellacie theodoricum menciantur. Sed ut ait persius esto dum non deterius sapiat pat mucia baucis atque hec actenus ne cui prefacio incumbit is eam prolixitatis arguens forte rescindat atque hinc inicium commentarii sūmat. Explicit prologus.* Then follows a rhetorical treatise with a commentary, beginning *Circa artem rethoricam x consideranda sunt. quid sit genus ipsius artis. quid ipsa ars sit. quid eius matheria.*

The reference is to Sat. 3, where the words *soli in scholis relinquentur* and *nisi quasdam insidias auribus fecerint* occur. But the colour of some parts of the rest of the fragment is also like Petronius. Who is the author? My reading is not sufficient to answer the question.

R. ELLIS.

PROPERTIANA.

THE attention of scholars seems at last to have turned seriously towards Propertius. Mr A. Palmer's critical edition is in progress, and Herr Baehrens is engaged on a recension which according to a recent notice of Messrs Teubner and Co. is to revolutionize Propertian criticism[1]. I cannot refrain from expressing my delight that a poet who has great claims upon us from his intrinsic merits, his difficulty and his affinity to the spirit of our times, is about to be rescued from comparative neglect: and it is in the hopes that perhaps I too may be able to do something to help the work, that I have submitted the following emendations and explanations to the readers of the Journal of Philology.

Prop. I. 33, 34,

> in me nostra Venus *noctes* exercet amaras
> et nullo uacuus tempore defit amor.

The later edd. pass over the difficulty of v. 33 without explanation, except Kuinoel who takes *nostra Venus* as Cynthia, but does not touch the real difficulty, the use of *exercet.* In his view it would be (as Passerat takes it) 'plies bitter nights against me' as an instrument of torture. This metaphorical use is too harsh to be admitted without parallels; and I cannot find any that seem adequate. The nearest are Plaut. Amph. 1. 1. 17, Gestiunt pugni mei. *So.* Si *in me exerciturus's* quaeso in parietem ut primum domes: Petron. 94, quem animum aduersus Ascyltum sumpseram, eum (gladium) *in Eumolpi sanguinem*

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[1] This was written in September 1879.

exercuissem; and one that I owe to Mr Reid, Sall. Jug. 16. 2, consul acerrume uictoriam nobilitatis *in plebem exercuerat.* I should prefer to take *nostra Venus* as 'my *passion*,' and *exercet* as in *exercere* diem, 'passes,' *i.e.* makes me pass bitter nights. But I feel that *in me nostra* is a tautology which passages like III. 24. 25, nuper enim *de te nostras me* laedit ad aures rumor, hardly excuse. So I would read **uoces,** a very easy change palaeographically (*e.g.* in v. 1. 121, for *notis*, M. reads *uotis*, and Hb. *noctis*), and which besides may have been of itself corrupted into the stock phrase *noctes amarae* (v. 3. 29, &c.). In a summary of the woes of his love (for such is this poem) Propertius could not omit the cruel temper of his mistress (cf. I. 13. 18, expertae metuens iurgia saeuitiae, and elsewhere) which made her break out into 'bitter, biting words' (*uoces amaras* = *dicta amara*, Ov. Tr. 3. 11. 31, Pont. 4. 14. 37). A similar phrase is *exerce uocem*, Plaut. Poen. Prol. 13. The second verse gives another source of woe: 'and (or perhaps 'and yet') unsatisfied passion never flags.'

I. 2. 25, 26, non ego nunc uereor ne sim tibi uilior istis
uni si qua placet, culta puella sat est.

The difficulty of v. 25 which Lachmann got rid of by reading *verear...istis?* and others by reading *ne sis mihi*, I would avoid by changing the punctuation, so as to make the line an interruption of Cynthia's. She is supposed to say, 'I am not afraid of your preferring *your* heroines (see vv. 15—20) to me. I am sure of *you*. I dress for *others*.' Prop. replies, 'A woman is adorned enough if she please *one* lover.' For a similar dialogue see bk. III. el. 24.

I. 6. 19, 20, tu patrui meritas conare anteire secures
et uetera oblitis iura *refer sociis*.

Here some minor MSS. have *referre foris* (Perreius *sonis*) which some critics have taken: *e.g.* Dr Atkinson (Hermath. I. p. 276). All readings point to the *contracted* form **socis** (for *sociis*) which appears in Cic. de Republica (Roby Lat. Gr. I. § 367, who gives other exx. of *-îs* for *-iis*[1]). The copyists, not understanding it, made it either *sociis*, which involved the change of *referre* to *refer*, or else *foris* (so in Prop. v. 9. 10 MSS. have sonos for *focos*, and in v. 4. 12, foco for foro).

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[1] Prop. has Gabi even v. 1. 34.

I. 8. 7, 8, tu pedibus teneris positas *fulcire* pruinas,
tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre niues?

In v. 7 I keep **fulcire** and take it as '*press*.' Compare Celsus l. 7. 18 (quoted by Scal.), linamenta non super *fulcienda* sed leuiter tantum ponenda sunt. Virg. Ecl. 6. 53 (of a bull), molli *fultus* hyacintho (where 'propped' is absurd). So *confulta* Lucr. 2. 100, partim interuallis magnis *confulta* resultant. Compare also the uses of *infulcio*.

I. 9. 34, dicere *qua* pereas saepe in amore leuat.

Read **quo** with the MSS. 'for whom thou dost languish.' The *masc.* is used because the person is *indefinite*.

I. 20. 1—4,

Hoc pro continuo te, Galle, monemus amore,
id tibi ne uacuo defluat ex animo:
saepe inprudenti fortuna occurrit amanti.
crudelis Minyis dixerit Ascanius.

The above is the punctuation of this hard passage adopted by L. Mueller and the edd. generally. It involves taking *id* as *illud*, referring to what is coming, a very doubtful usage, and leaves *dixerit* without an object, a very harsh ellipse. I would therefore put a full stop after *amore*, and a comma after *animo*, and take l. 3 after *dixerit:* and translate 'For (not 'by', Paley) thy unwavering love, Gallus, we give thee this warning. And lest it slip from thy unthinking mind, the Ascanius, so cruel to the Minyae, will tell thee that fortune often crosses the lover unawares.' *Hoc* refers vaguely to the advice in the poet's mind which he is about to give Gallus and to support by an example: so in Prop. III. 6 (5). 19, *hoc* sensi prodesse magis: contemnite, amantes. *id* drives the *hoc* home. *uacuo* is 'idle, unthinking,' as in Virg. G. 3. 3, not as Hertzb. '*ut uacuus fiat*.'

ib. 20. 52, his, o Galle, tuos monitus seruabis amores
formosum Nymphis credere *uisus* Hylan.

The Cod. Cujac. has *tutus:* on this the reading of the other MSS. *uisus* (or *iussus*) is a gloss, it being taken as *part.* of *tuor* (tueor) I see. Now (1) the *form* tutus, as *part.* of tueor, comes in Sall. Jug. 56. 77. 90; (2) *tueor* is used with an object clause in Lucr. 1. 153, quod multa in terris fieri caeloque *tuentur* et *al.* So I think it possible when we consider the number of archaisms in Prop. that **tutus** is right; and that it is either (1) *act.* 'as you *have observed* Hylas's trust in the Nymphs,' or else, if the passive use of tueor, '*defend*,' in Varro and elsewhere is enough authority, (2) *pass.* 'as you *have been observed* to trust &c.'

I. 21. 4, pars ego sum uestrae *proxima* militiae.

Proxima cannot = *proxime*; and 'cognate,' Mr Paley's explanation, though possible, is very harsh with *pars.* It is simply 'I am the nearest of your fellow-soldiers;' *militiae* = 'soldiers,' as in Just. 32. 2. It is natural for Gallus to appeal to their *companionship* in misfortune, and the expression also brings home to us the utter rout of the army of which two wounded men are all that are left together.

ib. vv. 9, 10, et *quaecumque* super dispersa inuenerit ossa
montibus Etruscis, haec sciat esse mea.

I am astonished all the edd. have taken the reading of a few MSS. *quaecumque.* It is incredible that Propertius should have made Gallus say '*all* the bones on the mountains of Etruria were his;' and, though *quaecumque* sometimes comes in Prop. where we expect *quae, quae* only makes the statement a trifle less absurd. Read therefore **quicumque**. The soldier is to see that Gallus' fate is kept from his sister, and that his bones receive burial.

II. 1. 47, laus in amore mori: laus altera si datur *uno*
posse frui: fruar o solus amore meo!

Here the MSS. reading *uno* has been changed without reason to *uni,* or misinterpreted as the *ablative.* It is *dative.* Cf. *toto* for *toti,* IV. 11. 57, and *nullae* for *nulli* (I. 20. 35). Add Roby Lat. Gr. I. § 372.

II. 2. 3, 4, cur haec in terris facies humana moratur?
Iuppiter, *ignoro* pristina furta tua.

Ignoro is usually explained 'I *think* nothing of,' *i.e.* as compared with Cynthia. To this there are two grave objections, (1) the *use* of *ignoro* which is unexampled, (2) the *context* which expresses Propertius' astonishment that Cynthia's beauty has not excited Jupiter's love. Both are removed by the slight change **ignaro,** 'To the ignorant with your old intrigues, Jupiter! They are tales which cannot impose on me.' For the ellipse of the verb of *saying* see Draeg. Hist. Synt. I. p. 177, and for the sense Hor. Ep. 1. 17. 62, *quaere peregrinum* uicinia rauca reclamat.

II. 7. 19, 20,

tu mihi sola places: placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus:
hic erit et patrio *sanguine* pluris amor.

Patrio sanguine must mean 'offspring which makes me a father'—an expression harsh and unparalleled. Now *sanguine* comes in precisely the same place six lines above; v. 14: to this is due the corruption, as it caught the eye of the copyist, and thus got introduced out of its place. This would be much more likely to happen if the word it displaced resembled it. Such a word we find in **nomine,** and for *patrio nomine,* 'the *name* of father,' here used with a certain disparagement as opposed to the reality of love, we may compare Lucr. 1. 95, quod *patrio* princeps donarat *nomine* regem.

II. 9. 11, 12,

et dominum lauit maerens captiua cruentum,
adpositum *flauis* in Simoenta uadis.

Here Hertzb. is unquestionably right in keeping the MS. reading **fluuiis,** and in comparing *profluuius.* This word points to an old adj. *fluuius,* and so does the fact that we get another form of the *subst.* in old Lat. *Fluuia,* as 'river' (Sisenn. ap. Non. 207. 7, 8) for *fluuia aqua* is to *fluuius* adj. as *pluuia* for *pluuia aqua* (Fragm. XII Tab.) is to *pluuius* adj. The sense is decisive. How natural was it that Briseis should bathe the blood off her lover's corpse in *running* water, how unlikely that

Prop. should have taken the trouble to point out that the water was *turbid* or *discoloured* (flavis)! *In Simoenta* is of course a pregnant Graecism, 'brought *to* the river and laid by its flowing stream[1].'

III. 32 (26). 29, aut quid Erecthei prosunt tibi carmina *lecta.*

Here N. reads *Erechthi tibi prosunt carmina lecta,* G. *Erethei prosunt tibi carmina lecta.* These variants justify *Erechthei,* the conjecture of Heinsius and Hertzberg. Yet corruption still lurks in the verse. *Erechthei* as a subst. is harsh here, and *lecta,* as the close of the line, weak and superfluous. We suggest a subst. agreeing with *Erechthei.* This subst. is **lecti,** 'a studying couch,' as in Sen. Ep. 72; and it has been attracted into agreement with *carmina* by a common corruption. The sense is, 'What good can the writings of the Athenian's study do you when in love?' Perhaps the poet does not mean Aeschylus, but *Euripides,* whose ill-fortune in love was proverbial, and to whose habit of composing ἀναβάδην Ar. Ach. 430 the *lecti* will have special appropriateness. In this case the allusions in vv. 39, 40 will be to the *Supplices* and *Phoenissae*[2].

IV. 1. 3, 4, primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos
Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros.

There is no need to suppose that *per* goes with *orgia*—a very harsh displacement. For it means 'to lead the sacred emblems of Italy through dances of Greece;' *orgia* as in Catull. 64. 260 (Ellis) and Virg. Aen. 6. 515, illa *chorum* simulans evantes *orgia* circum ducebat Phrygias. For the metaph. cf. Virg. G. 2. 475, Musae quarum sacra fero.

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[1] If we must emend in the direction of *flavis*, *fuluis*, which Prof. Ellis reads from the Bodleian MS., is the easiest alteration.

[2] On looking the passage out afterwards in Kuinoel's Apparatus Criticus, I found the following note, "*aut quid Erechthei tibi prosunt carmina lecti* in aliis (MSS.) haberi notat Latinus Latinius," and was surprised to see that no one had guessed the right translation, Heinsius even suggesting *tecti.*

IV. 2 (3). 33, 34, diuersaeque nouem sortitae *rura* puellae
exercent teneras in sua dona manus.

For the unmeaning *rura*, for which we want *arva* or *antra*, I have long thought **iura** should be read: and I now find it in Scaliger. I can only wonder no editor has taken it.

IV. 6 (7). 45, 46, uiueret ante suos dulcis conuiua Penates
pauper, at in terra, nil ubi *flere potest.*

The much applauded *flare* can only be construed 'where nothing can blow,' which is not true, or else 'where blowing has no power,' which is very harsh. Now either the centre of the corruption is in *flere*, in which case it conceals a *vocative*[1], and we must read *potes* from D., Prop. thus pointing how much safer land is than sea against storms; or else it lies in *potest*, as I think is the case, and Prop. carries on the idea in *pauper* to administer a rebuke to avarice. I should then read **sat est,** which has been corrupted through *potest* ending v. 38, and take the meaning to be 'He would have been poor, it is true: but it would have been on land where it is enough to have no cause for tears.' Comp. v. 55, *flens* tamen extremis dedit haec mandata querellis. This may seem an exaggerated statement, but Propertius abounds in such.

IV. 10 (11). 5, *uenturam* melius praesagit nauita *noctem.*

Here the best MSS. read *uenturam...mortem.* As every one can predict that death will come, the edd. have altered *mortem* to *noctem.* But this never means a '*storm*' by itself: so we are as badly off as before. I would read **uentorum**. Then we may either keep *mortem*, 'a death by the winds,' such as Paetus' el. 7, esp. lines 35, 39; or alter it to *noctem*, in which case Virg. G. I. 328, media nimborum in nocte, will be an exact parallel[2]. For the sense cf. II. 1. 43 *nauita de uentis,* de tauris narrat arator.

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[1] What it could be, I have no idea: I once thought it was *Caure*. I see the same has occurred to a Swedish scholar, Herr Chr. Sandström, but I fear this must be rejected as Prop. always speaks of the *Aquilo* or *North* wind in connexion with Paetus' shipwreck and the Carpathian.

[2] Mr Fennell ingeniously conjectures *Martem:* if this can be used metaphorically, we might compare Virg. G. I. 318, omnia *uentorum* concurrere *proelia* uidi.

IV. 16 (17). 27, 28,

et tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina *Naxon*,
unde tuum potat Naxia turba merum.

Et tibi *per Diam...saxis* is Mr Palmer's brilliant conjecture for the MS. reading (see Hermath. I. p. 162). To make it perfect, we should read **saxo**, which is nearer the MSS., and is more appropriate than the plural, 'gushed from the rock,' cf. Prop. I. 16. 29, III. 8. 3 saxo...Ceraunо.

IV. 20. 8 (18), testis sidereae *tota* corona deae.

All the edd. with the exception of Hertzberg have rejected the MS. reading *torta*, and even he has explained it wrongly. *Tota* which has replaced it is, as Hertzberg has shewn, weak and prosaic and palaeographically improbable. Hertzberg's '*torqueri* verbum de coeli siderumque conversionibus fere proprium *corona* chorus siderum' is not more poetical and certainly gives a harsher sense. Thus one of the most beautiful images in Propertius has been lost. *Corona* is the coronal of stars which Night, their Goddess, wears on her brow, and **torta**, an epithet applied properly to chaplets of twisted leaves (cf. torta quercu Virg. G. 1. 349), gives here by a happy touch the scattering of the stars up and down the heavens. Comp. Hom. Il. 18. 485 *ἐν δὲ τὰ τείρεα πάντα τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται*, and elsewhere.

V. 5. 61, uidi ego *odorati* uictura rosaria *Paesti*
sub matutino cocta iacere Noto.

The interpretation which we are obliged to give to *uictura* 'which would have lived,' *sc.* 'if the wind had not killed them,' shews the passage is corrupt. The text of the procuress Acanthis is that beauty is fleeting, and one of her illustrations is that the fairest flowers are often the first to fade. So I read **odoratum Paestum** and take *uictura* as the fut. part. of *uinco* (not as that of *uiuo* for which the copyists mistook it) 'rosebeds which would have surpassed fragrant Paestum itself.'

V. 11. 70, et serie fulcite genus; mihi cymba uolenti
soluitur aucturis tot mea *fata* meis.

The MSS. here have *uncturis...malis* which the editors have rightly corrected. But there remains the awkward and unexampled expression *augere fata*. Tibullus will help us to a remedy. He has I. 7. 55, 56 et tibi succrescat proles quae *facta parentis augeat* et circa stet ueneranda senem. Read therefore **facta**[1]. The extent of Propertius' obligations to Tibullus is a very interesting subject to which I hope to return some time. I must add a word on the MS. reading here, *uncturis tot mea fata* malis: with the alteration *meis* it can be construed 'as so many of my family will anoint my dead body:' but this demonstrates its falsity. For such offices to the departed, which were performed in Greece by the relatives, were discharged in Rome by the pollinctor, a *slave* of the Libitinarius. And, more, it adds another proof of forgery to those adduced by Haupt Opusc. I. p. 315 against the *Epicedion Drusi*. For we read there v. 136 tene meae poterunt *ungere*, nate, manus?; where this menial duty is assigned to the empress herself! The poem abounds in imitations of Propertius of which Haupt has cited a few: and this one, like v. 330 = Prop. v. 11. 102, is of interest in the history of the text.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Postscript. I have since found my explanation of *uno* (II. 1. 47) in Passerat.—*sat est*, IV. 6 (7). 46, brings it still closer to the passage in Callimachus which, as Hertzberg has seen, Propertius is imitating Fragm. 111 *τρίσμακαρ εἰ παύρων ὄλβιος ἐστὶ μέτα ναυτιλίης ὃς νῆιν ἔχει βίον.*

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[1] It is worth mentioning that H. has *facta*, though this may be a *corruptio corrupti*.

ON SOPHOCLES, OEDIPUS TYRANNUS, 1337—1346.

(Ed. Dindorf.)

THIS passage should I think run as follows:

τί δῆτ’ ἐμοὶ βλεπτὸν ἢ
στερκτὸν ἢ προσήγορον
ἔτ’ ἔστ’ ἀκούειν ἡδονᾷ, φίλοι;
ἀπάγετ’ ἐκτόπιον ὅτι τάχιστά με,
ἀπάγετ’· ὠφελεῖτ’ ὀλέθριόν με γᾷ,
τὸν καταρατότατον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ θεοῖς
ἐχθρότατον βροτῶν.

that is,

"What then yet remains for me to be looked upon, or loved, or listened to in discourse, with pleasure, my friends? Lead me away from this place as quickly as possible, lead me away. Assist me pestilential as I am to the Earth—the most accursed one,—and even to the Gods most hateful of mortals."

It is the fifth of the above lines, which has given rise to difficulty.

As read in all the MSS. without exception, and in the Aldine edition, and laying no great stress on the fact that some MSS. have *μέγα* for the final *μέγαν*, the line runs thus;—

ἀπάγετ’ ὦ φίλοι τὸν ὀλέθριον μέγαν,

a reading evidently wrong on either metrical or grammatical grounds.

But the origin and progress of the corruption, by which it has been derived from the reading which I venture to suggest as the true one, will I think be clear, if we write the lines one under the other, omitting the divisions into words and reverting to the old form of the *ν* viz. *μ*. They will respectively run thus, (1) representing my suggested reading, (2) the reading of the MSS.—

(1) *απαγετωφελειτολεθριομμεγαι,*
(2) *απαγετωφιλοιτομ ολεθριομμεγαμ.*

The eye of the scribe who dealt with reading (1) caught the *ολ*, the two initial letters of *ὀλέθριον*, and misread them *ομ* i.e. *ον* (as he might easily do if the λ were badly formed, with its left-hand member prolonged upwards and its right-hand one shortened downwards). To make some sense of this he then subtracted from *ὠφελεῖτ'* its final *τ* which he prefixed to his *ον*, thus making the word *τὸν*. The *εθριον* of *ὀλέθριον* obliged him to make the two initial letters do duty over again with that truncated word, and he accordingly did so. Then to make sense of the now senseless *ωφελει-*, his ear, perhaps, —seduced by the jingle of sound[1]—or his critical faculty in spite of, or his eye because of, the immediately antecedent *φιλοι* led him to substitute *ὦ φίλοι*: whilst the alteration of *μεγαι* i.e. *με γᾷ* into *μεγαν* or *μεγα* was a mere piece of careless inattention, and blundering copying, instances of which may easily be found in the MSS.

Had the scribe's original copy been written in capital letters instead of in the cursive character, as I have supposed above, the process of corruption would have been the same, the letters confused being I, Λ and N.

The manuscriptal reading was as I have said manifestly wrong; and a substituted reading,

ἀπάγετ', ὦ φίλοι, τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν,

which started originally from a correction of Turnebus, for many years found approval and adoption among even the best critics, grammarians and scholars.

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[1] There would probably have been little difference in sound between *ὦ φίλοι* and *ωφελει-*. *οι* in modern Greek, like *ι* and *η*, is pronounced like the English long *e*, and easily gets corrupted into one or the other. On the monument of Philopappus at Athens a modern vagrant who has scrawled his name and condition has described himself as ὁΔΙΠΟΡΟϹ, meaning *ὁδοιπόρος*.

In the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology,* vol. II. p. 84, March, 1855, I pointed out the objection to this reading, arising from the order of the words—τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν instead of τὸν μέγαν ὄλεθρον or ὄλεθρον τὸν μέγαν, and tentatively proposed τὸν ὁλοὸν μέγα. Further consideration however of the strength of the authority for the word ὀλέθριον convinced me, almost as soon as my remarks were out of my hands, that the error could not lie in that word, and led me to the reading which I have now formally suggested above, and which I first orally propounded when Classical Lecturer at King's College, London, in 1857.

Since my remarks on the line in question appeared in the *Journal of Philology,* emphasized as they were by editorial approval, and afterwards by that of the late Dr Donaldson in his *Classical Scholarship and Classical Learning,* p. 148, three scholars only, so far as I have been able to ascertain, have recognised the difficulty of τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν, and sought to overcome it.

The first is Bergk, who in his edition of Sophocles (Lips. 1858) reads τὸν ὄλεθρόν με γᾶς.

The second is Blaydes, who in his edition (1859, forming part of Long's *Bibliotheca Classica*) reverts to and prints Erfurdt's old correction τὸν μέγ' ὀλέθριον: but who, assuming τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν to be right, says of it "The full expression would be τὸν ὄντα ὄλεθρον μέγαν, as in Ar. Thesm. 394, τὰς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς τὰς μέγ' ἀνδράσιν κακὸν (sc. οὔσας)."

The third is an anonymous "First Classman of Balliol College," who in 1870 published at Oxford a translation of the Oedipus Tyrannus with notes; in which he insists that "τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν must not be translated 'the monstrous destruction.' The Greek for that would be τὸν μέγαν ὄλεθρον. The adjective following the substantive does more than qualify it. It emphasizes the reason given by it," and translates the passage thus, "Remove the destruction, O friends, being great." This in fact is Hermann's interpretation—"Plena oratio esset τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν ὄντα," given I see in his third edition (Lips. 1833—"notis Erfurdtii suisque"—) and adopted (apparently) by Schneidewin (*Sophokles erklärt von F. W. Schneidewin,* 2tes.

Bdchn. Lips. 1851) whose note is "*τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν* (*ὄντα*), *κάθαρμα* wie *ἄνθρωπος ὄλεθρος*, *ὄλεθρος ὁ βαθύς* Aristoph.," the latter reference being to Aristophanes Fragm. 309, v. 3 (ed. Dind.) and borrowed from Elmsley, as is the interpretation *κάθαρμα* from Ellendt.

Believing, as I do, that *ὀλέθριον* cannot be the wrong reading, and therefore that *ὄλεθρον* cannot be the right one—which by the way disposes of Bergk's otherwise excellent conjecture—I am not concerned to consider the explanations proposed of *τὸν ὄλεθρον μέγαν*. I will only say that they are not satisfactory to my mind. I think that Hermann's "plena oratio" would have been *τὸν ὄλεθρον τὸν μέγαν ὄντα*. Blaydes' explanation seems to me far more ingenious, although I do not think his citation from the Thesmophoriazusae, regard being had to the word *καλῶν* there in verse 392, is in point. But I fail to see any special virtue in the predicatival use of *ὄλεθρον μέγαν*, as Blaydes has it, or of *μέγαν*, as Hermann has it, in the present passage, which would not equally apply generally, and which, had it existed in fact, would have negatived the existence of the rule, which is nevertheless recognised, for the position of the Greek article in connection with an adjective and noun.

A similar process of corruption to that which I suppose to have existed in this passage of Sophocles, but in a reverse direction, has obscured what seems to me—with great respect to Orelli—the real text of Tacitus XIII *Ann.* 15, thus restored by Freinshemius:—

"Turbatus his Nero, et propinquo die, quo quartum decimum aetatis annum Britannicus explebat, volutare secum modo matris violentiam, modo ipsius indolem, levi quidem experimento nuper cognitam, quo tamen favorem late quaesivisset."

Here "indolem levi" written "indolẽ leui," has been misread "indolẽ ui," one "le" being omitted, as in Sophocles the *ολ* has been doubled: that in its turn "indolẽ ut," whence the reading of the Medicean MS. "indolem, ut quidam."

RICHARD HORTON SMITH.

ANIMAL WORSHIP AND ANIMAL TRIBES AMONG THE ARABS AND IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE importance of animal and plant worship for the study of primitive society has been put beyond doubt by the researches of Mr J. F. Maclennan, of which only the first outlines have been made public in his essay on "The Worship of Plants and Animals" in the *Fortnightly Review* for 1869, 1870. In his essay it is laid down as a working hypothesis that the ancient nations came through the Totem stage, or in other words that they came through that peculiar kind of Fetichism which has its typical representation among the aborigines of America and Australia. The totem or kobong of these peoples is an animal or plant or heavenly body appropriated as a fetich to all persons of a certain stock. These persons believe that they are descended from the totem, who is reverenced as a protector and friend and whose name they bear. The line of descent is through the mother who gives her totem to her children. Persons of the same totem are not allowed to marry. Where the system exists in this typical form every group necessarily contains persons of different totems. But a change in the system of kinship along with other circumstances may operate, as is seen in observed instances, to produce homogeneous groups inheriting a single totem and totem name from father to son. Again the totem god of a dominant stock may come to command the worship of all the tribes in a group, the other tribal gods forming subordinate deities, as in Peru. Thus little by little the features of the original system may be obliterated till the connection between the animal gods and tribes bearing an animal name is no longer apparent. In adopting as a legitimate hypothesis the opinion that the ancient nations have passed through the totem stage, Mr Maclennan is partly guided by his previous and independent conclusion as to the universal prevalence, at one stage of society, of exogamy and kinship through females; but quite apart from this he has brought evidence to prove that from the earliest times in very many cases and in the most widely separated races "animals were worshipped by tribes of men who were named after them and believed to be of their breed." This conclusion, taken along with the prevalence of the totem system in modern savage races over a very large part of the globe, opens up a line of enquiry of the first importance, and suggests points of view for the study of ancient religions which may not perhaps prove to be so universally applicable as Mr Maclennan's hypothesis assumes, but which at any rate claim to be taken into account and put to the test whenever we have to deal with a religion that acknowledges animal gods.

I am not aware that any recent writer on Semitic religions has directed his attention to the questions suggested by Mr Maclennan's speculations. There is a controversy whether Semitic heathenism is purely astral or whether it also includes telluric elements; but the latest advocate of the astral theory, Count Baudissin, pursues his argument without any consciousness of the important connection that subsists between plant or animal worship and totem tribes. Nay, he puts the animal worship of the Semites altogether aside, with the remark that "nothing is yet known of a sacred character being ascribed to living animals among the Semites, and when the gods are figured in animal form or accompanied by animals, the animal can be more or less clearly made out to be a pictorial representation of the attributes of the celestial gods." (*Studien*, II. 146.) Now it will of course be admitted that among the Semites animal gods were largely identified with astral powers. But this by no means proves that from the first the animal was a mere emblem of heavenly attributes. On the contrary the religion of Peru affords an unambiguous example of the elevation of totem gods to the skies, on the theory that "there was not any beast or bird upon the earth whose shape or image did not shine in the heavens[1].” Indeed when we look at the matter closely we find no complete proof that all Semitic animal gods were identified with planets or constellations even in the later developments of their worship. What is the astral equivalent of the flygod Beelzebub? or of Dagon, whose character as a fishgod Baudissin himself accepts as probable? Or if we turn to Arabia, what proof can be offered beyond vague analogy that the god worshipped by the Dhu-’l-kalâ‘, under the name and figure of an eagle (Nasr), was a form of the sungod, or that a planetary character belonged to Yaghûth (*the helper*), whose image was that of a lion, or Ya‘ûq (*the hinderer*), who was figured as a horse[2]. It would tax the ingenuity of the boldest symbolist to reduce to its astral elements the Jewish worship of all manner of creeping things and unclean beasts (Ezek. viii. 10, Deut. iv. 17, 18, contrasted with ver. 19). And it is strange that Baudissin should deny that living animals had sanctity among the Semites, when he has occasion in the very same essay to speak of the sacred fish so common in Syrian sanctuaries, and of the horses of the sun among the Jews (2 K. xxiii. 11, comp. Mic. i. 13).

Now if the astral character of Semitic animal gods is in many cases no more than a theory, and a theory which at best is not conclusive as to the original character of these deities, it becomes a matter of great importance to ask if we can find any traces of a belief that the animal gods were progenitors of tribes which bore their name. In that case the theory that the animal forms are mere pictures of divine attributes must fall to the ground; for a tribe would not claim to be the offspring of an attribute, but of the god himself under his proper name.

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[1] *Fortnightly Review*, 1870, p. 212.

[2] These three appear in the Qor’ân as idols of the antediluvians, which no doubt expresses a consciousness that they are gods of the earliest antiquity. Nasr is mentioned in the Talmud, Tr. ‘Aboda Zara. The other two antediluvian idols Wadd and Suwâ‘ had the shape of a man and woman respectively. The explanation of the latter name by Osiander (*Z. D. M. G.* vii. 496) rests on an appellative sense given to the word in the Qamûs which is not acknowledged in the Lexicons of Lane and Bistâny.—I have not access to Wüstenfeld’s genealogical tables, but learn from Osiander that in one tribe (the Qoraysh) we find as proper names “Servant of Yaghûth” and “Servant of the Lion,” which presumably refer to the same cultus.

The probability that among the Semites as in other parts of the ancient world, and notably in Egypt, animal worship and animal tribes were associated in the way which Mr Maclennan's theory would lead us to expect, was suggested to me a considerable time ago by the examination of data in the Old Testament, which contains our earliest literary record of the forms of Semitic Polytheism. The Old Testament facts seemed to point to Arabia as the part of the Semitic field most likely to throw further light on the matter. In Aberdeen unfortunately I have no access to the Arabic texts most indispensable for complete enquiry into the subject. But even the scanty helps which I have at hand have yielded so many relevant facts, and throw so much light on the data contained in the Bible, that I venture to put forth a provisional argument, which I hope will be found to possess sufficient consistency to justify publication, and to invite the cooperation of scholars in further research. My results are remarkably confirmatory of Mr Maclennan's theory—a theory framed almost absolutely without reference to the Semitic races, but which nevertheless will be found to explain the true connection of a great number of facts which have hitherto remained unexplained and almost unobserved. It is not often that a historical speculation receives such notable experimental verification, and in this connection I hope that the facts may receive the attention of students of early society who are not Semitic scholars.

I start from Arabia, because the facts referring to that country belong to a more primitive state of society than existed in Israel at the time when the Old Testament was written, and because in Arabia before Islam we find a condition of pure polytheism, and not as in Israel the struggle between spiritual religion and the relics of ancestral heathenism (Josh. xxiv. 2).

Moreover the first point is to shew the existence of animal tribes or families, and here it is convenient to begin with the Arabs, among whom a very great number of such tribes is found. The following examples are gathered from the *Lubbu-'l-*

lubâb (Suyûṭî's dictionary of gentile names), and make no pretence to completeness.

Asad, lion; "a number of tribes." *Aws*, wolf; "a tribe of the Ançâr," or Defenders. *Badan*, ibex; "a tribe (بطن) of the Kalb and others." *Tha'laba*, she-fox; "name of tribes." *Ǵarâd*, locusts; "a sub-tribe of the Tamîm." *Benî Ḥamâma*, sons of the dove; "a sub-tribe of the Azd." *Thawr*, bull; "a sub-tribe of Hamdân and of 'Abd Manâh." *Ǵaḥsh*, colt of an ass; "a sub-tribe of the Arabs." *Ḥida'*, kite; "a sub-tribe of Murâd." *Dhi'b*, wolf; "son of 'Amr, a sub-tribe of the Azd." *Ḍubey'a*, little hyaena; "son of Qays, a sub-tribe of Bekr bin Wâil, and Ḍubey'a bin Rabî'a bin Nizâr bin Ma'add." *Ḍabba*, lizard; "son of Udd bin Tâbicha bin Ilyâs bin Moḍar" (eponym of the Benî Ḍabba or sons of the Lizard). Also the ancestral name of families in Qoreysh and Hudheyl. *Ḍibâb*, lizards (pl.); "son of 'Amir bin Ça'ça'a." *Ḍabâb*, a subdivision of the Benî Ḥârith and of the Qoreysh, is perhaps the same thing. *'Oqâb*, eagle; "a sub-tribe of Ḥaḍramaut." *'Anz*, she-goat; "son of Wâ'il, brother of Bekr." The tribe of the 'Anaza, whose eponym is represented as the uncle of Wâ'il are probably not different in origin. *Ghorâb*, raven; "a sub-tribe of the Fazâra." *Qonfudh*, hedgehog; "a sub-tribe of Suleym." *Kalb*, dog; "a sub-tribe of Qoḍâ'a and of the Benî Leyth and of Baǵîla." *Kuleyb*, whelp; "a sub-tribe of Tamîm and of Chozâ'a and of Nacha'." *Kilâb*, dogs (pl.). Two eponyms of this name are given. The Benî Kilâb, who are Qaysites, are quite distinct from the Kalb, who are Yemenites. *Leyth*, lion. Two eponyms of this name. The Benî Leyth have been mentioned under Kalb. *Yarbû'*, jerboa; "a sub-tribe of the Benî Tamîm and of the Hawâzin and of the Dhubyân." *Namir*, panther; "a sub-tribe of Rabî'a bin Nizâr, and of the Azd and of Qoḍâ'a." *Anmâr*, panthers; "sub-tribes of the Arabs." Anmâr son of Nizâr is the eponym of a Ma'addite tribe that settled in Yemen. Anmâr is also a son of Saba', the eponym of the Sabaeans (Ṭabarî, I. p. 225 l. 9). To the same source belong, no doubt, Numâra, "a subdivision of the Lachm and others," and Nomeyr (little panther) among the Qaysites.

In these and numerous other cases the animal name is undisguised. In some cases we find a termination *ân*, which is noteworthy, because the same thing occurs in Hebrew gentilicia. Thus:—

Ẓabyân (from ظبي gazelle), "a subdivision of the Azd;"

Wa'lân (from وعل ibex), "a subdivision of Murâd;"

Labwân (from لبوة lioness), "a subdivision of Ma'âfir."

Finally I add what seems to be the case of a mongrel. The Arabs have many fables of the Sim' (سِمْعُ), a beast begotten by the hyaena on the wolf, and so we find

Sim', "a subdivision of the Defenders (the Medînites)."

Here we seem also to have the form in ân, for Sam'ân is a subdivision of the Tamîm. سمعي and سمعاني are a similar pair to שִׁמְעִי and שִׁמְעוֹנִי. The identity of שִׁמְעוֹן and سِمْع was suggested long ago by Hitzig.

The origin of all these names is referred in the genealogical system of the Arabs to an ancestor who bore the tribal or gentile name. Thus the *Kalb* or dog-tribe consists of the Benî Kalb—sons of Kalb (the dog), who is in turn son of Wabra (the female rockbadger), son of Tha'laba (the she-fox), great-great-grandson of Qoḍâ'a, grandson of Saba', the Sheba of Scripture. A single member of the tribe is Kalbî—a Kalbite—*Caninus*.

Such is the system. But can we assign to it historical value? Is the ancestral dog a real personage or a mere personification of a dog ancestor, the eponym of a tribe which at one time really thought, like the North American Indians, that it was sprung of an animal stock? That the genealogies of the Arabs, which exhibit the relations of the various tribes and trace them all back to Adam, have been artificially systematised and completed by borrowing from Hebrew and other sources, no one doubts. The shortness of the historical memory of the Arabs has been clearly proved by Nöldeke (*Ueber die Amalekiter*, p. 25 seq.), who shews that in Mohammed's time they no longer had any trustworthy traditions of great nations who flourished after the time of Christ. That in many cases gentile unity is ascribed to mere confederations is shewn by Sprenger in his *Geographie Arabiens.* And a conclusive argument against the genealogical system is that it is built on the patriarchal theory. Every nation and every tribe must have an ancestor of the same name from whom kinship is reckoned exclusively in the male line. We know that this system of kinship is not primitive. According to Strabo (XVI. 4) the Arabs practised Tibetan polyandry (the brothers having one wife in common), of which the levirate customs alluded to in the Qor'ân (IV. 23) are a relic[1]. The succession from brother to brother, which Strabo mentions as part of the system of marriage and kinship, has left traces even in the Arab accounts of their ancestors. Such a law of marriage and succession paves the way for transition to the patriarchal system, but could not give a genealogical table of the form which to the later Arabs seemed natural and necessary. We may take it as certain, then, that in remoter times, and these not so very remote after all, gentile groups were not named from a historical ancestor.

Another very distinct proof to the same effect is afforded by tribal names which have a plural form. Anmâr, Kilâb, Ḍibâb, Panthers, Dogs, Lizards, are originally the names of tribes, each member of which would call himself a Panther, a Dog, a Lizard. The idea of an ancestor bearing the plural name is plainly artificial, invented in the interests of a system.

Additional light is thrown on the true meaning of these tribal names, when we compare them with others in which the name is identical with that of a deity. Here again, in default of a better source, I turn to Suyûṭî.

Shams, sun; "a sub-tribe of the Azd. The sun was a great Arabian god." *Hilâl,* crescent moon; "a tribe of Hawâzin and of Namir[2]." *Benî Bedr,* sons of the full moon; "a sub-tribe "of Ḥaǵr bin Dhû Ro'ayn." *Ghanm,* "a sub-tribe of the Azd, of the Defenders, and of the Benî Asad." It is also the name of a god, Osiander, p. 500. *'Awf,* "son of Sa'd, a sub-tribe Qays 'Aylân." It is also the name of a god according to the 'Obâb and the Qâmûs (Lane, s.v. عوف, Osiander, p. 501). *Nihm,* "a sub-tribe of Hamdân." *Nuhm,* "a sub-tribe of Bagîla." *Nuham,* "a sub-tribe of 'Âmir ben Ça'ça'a." All these plainly belong to the god Nuhm worshipped by the Mozeyna (Bistâny, s.v. نهم).

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[1] The connection of the levirate with polyandry of the Tibetan type has been shewn by Mr Maclennan, *Primitive Marriage,* chap. viii. Some of the details of Strabo's account will be noticed below.

[2] On the moon as a god see Osiander, *Z. D. M. G.* vii. 466, 469, and Dimishqî in Chwolson's *Ssabier,* ii. 404.

Such tribal names as these stand on exactly the same footing with the animal names discussed above. The sons of the Moon and the sons of the Panther doubtless stood in similar relation to the beings from which they took their respective names. There is nothing surprising in the conception that the worshippers are sons of their god. We find the same thing in the Old Testament. The Moabites are called sons and daughters of Kemosh in the old lay, Num. xxi. 29, and even Malachi calls a heathen woman the daughter of a strange god (ii. 11). In the later stages of thought this was no doubt a metaphor. But in its origin, as we see it in these tribal names, the idea must have been that the people were of the stock of their god. When a man called himself Shamsî, "solar," he meant that he really was of the stock of the sun. The existence of such a way of speaking, and even of cases in which a man is directly named Sun, Moon, Venus, Canopus, or the like (Osiander, p. 466), points to another and presumably an earlier habit of religious thought than that which gave rise to the names 'Abd esh-Shams, 'Abd Nuhm, "servant of the Sun," "of Nuhm," and the like. Thus it would seem that even in the worship of the heavenly beings a way of thinking analogous to totemism preceded the distant and awful veneration of a remote and inaccessible heavenly splendour which Baudissin and others take as the type of Semitic religion.

The analogies now brought forward make it tolerably certain that the animal names of stocks have a religious significance. I shall now produce an instance in which the ideas god, animal, ancestor, are all brought into connection. The great tribe or group of tribes which bore the name of Qaysites or Benî Qays trace their genealogy to Qays ‘Aylân son of Moḍar. Now Qays is a god (Osiander, p. 500), but what is ‘Aylân? According to Abulfeda (*Hist. Ante-Islam.* ed. Fleischer, p. 194, 11), "it is said that Qays was son of ‘Aylân son of Moḍar. *Others say that ‘Aylân was his horse, others that he was his dog.* Others again say that ‘Aylân was the brother of Ilyâs (and therefore son of Moḍar) and that his name (اسم as distinct from surname) was En-nâs bin Moḍar and that Qays was his son." Here plainly we have confusion among the genealogists because of an animal link in the ancestry at the very point where the ancestor is a god. The twofold animal interpretation of ‘Aylân must belong to two Qaysite tribes, one equine, the other canine. Similar to this are the traditions which make the goddess Nâila daughter of the Wolf or the Cock (Dozy, *Israelieten te Mekka,* p. 197); and the name Rabî‘atu-’l-faras, "Rabî‘a of the horse," one of the four sons of Nizâr. I imagine that many other facts of a similar kind lie behind the genealogies in their present form. Thus Kinda, the ancestor of the great dynasty of the Kindites, is said to have had as his real name (not his لقب) *Thawr,* the Bull (Abulf. *H. A.-I.* p. 188; Ibn Chaldûn, Bûlâq ed. II. 257). Of the mythical character of this ancestor of a line of seventy kings, ending in the time of the prophet, there can be no question (Sprenger, *Geog. Ar.* p. 225).

Now it is true that we have very little direct information connecting these facts with animal worship, and it is also true that the greater part of the information which we do possess about Arabic polytheism points rather to the worship of stones trees, and heavenly bodies. But in estimating the significance of this circumstance we must remember the nature of the records. It will be admitted that no generalisation as to the true nature of Arabian polytheism can be based on the scanty records of the Greeks and Romans. Herodotus (IV. 7) thought that the Arabs had but two gods, because as it appears he knew the formula of an oath in which, as in the well-known oath by al-Lât and al-‘Uzzâ, or by ‘Awḍ and Su‘eyr, two deities were mentioned. If we may believe Arrian, the Greeks under Alexander had learned nothing more. Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.*

IX. 4) and Pliny (XII. 14. 19, Sabin, Assabin = الشمس) had heard of the sun, the great god of the incense-bearing country, because his worship was connected with the important traffic in incense. Such is the character of the foreign records, and those of the Arabs after Mohammed are little better. The followers of Islâm were anxious to forget all but the mere surface facts of the old religion. Even of the great gods who had important temples of their own, and were worshipped by wide districts, we hardly know anything beyond a few names. Yet in the temple of Mecca alone—the great Pantheon of the heathen Arabs—there stood no fewer than 360 idols, and every head of a house had his own family gods (Pococke, *Spec.* ed. White, p. 112). About these minor gods we are absolutely without information. Yet it is among these and not among the great gods which had more than a mere tribal character that we could expect to find confirmation of our present argument. It will have been observed that the animal names in our list generally belong to sub-tribes. That this is precisely what is to be expected on theoretical considerations will be shewn presently. But of the deities corresponding to such divisions there is no record. We cannot therefore expect to hear of animal gods except in the cases where they have gained a circle of worshippers wider than their own stock, and have therefore laid aside the totem character. And in such a case a god is not unlikely to lose his proper animal form and become a man-god retaining perhaps some animal symbol or connection as in the case of Qays 'Aylân. In the last period of Arab heathenism most of the great gods seem actually to have assumed human form, and even those which retained an animal shape, like the lion Yaghûth, and the horse Ya'ûq, were no longer the property of a single stock. They had acquired a larger importance and wars were waged for the possession of their images (Sprenger, p. 285). This is not inconsistent with totem origin, but at such a stage of development we can no longer expect to find direct evidence of the more primitive totem worship. Yet of the few animal figures that are on our records almost all actually appear as stock names. Yaghûth corresponds to the Asad; the eagle-god Nasr to the 'Oqâb, or more exactly to the race of Nasr, kings of Ḥîra. The dove in the Ka'ba (Pococke, p. 100) answers to the Benî Hamâma[1]; the golden gazelles in the same temple to the Ẓabyân. But that animal worship had an extension far beyond these narrow limits is not ambiguously hinted in the Qor'ân (VI. 38), where it is taught with an obvious polemical intention that there is no manner of beast or fowl but is a people subject to God's decree and returning to him. Conversely the doctrine of Genii in animal form is clearly the relic of an old mythology, in which, as we are told in Qor. VI. 100, the Genii were made partners with God[2].

There is still one important point to be noticed in comparing the ancient Arabs with the races who possess the totem system. A main characteristic of that system in its earliest forms is that totem kinship is reckoned through the mother. The connection between such a system of kinship and the practice of polyandry and exogamy has been worked out by Mr Maclennan. It is now to be asked whether these practices and the consequent system of kinship originally prevailed among the Arabs. We have seen that the animal names given in the tribal genealogies generally belong to sub-tribes, and that the same animal name often belongs to sub-tribes of different groups. This is just what would come about on a system of exogamy where the totem name was transmitted through the mother. In fact exactly the same thing is found in North America. There is a Bear tribe among the Hurons and also among the Iroquois, and so on. That these sub-tribes were originally reckoned in the female line seems probable from the name applied to them—بطن, *batn*, that is, *venter*. The Arabic lexicographers give an explanation of the term which is plainly absurd (see Lane, s.v. شَعْب). It seems naturally to denote the offspring of one mother. But apart from this conjecture there is evidence to shew that exogamy and female kinship must at one time have prevailed among the Arabs. Both exogamy and polyandry are the natural outcome of an extensive practice of female infanticide[1]. But among the ancient Arabs this practice was so approved that an old proverb declares that the destruction of female children is a virtuous action. Again there is every reason to believe that the form of capture in marriage ceremonies is a relic of exogamy and marriage by actual capture. Of this form the marriage ceremony of the Bedouins is one of the most familiar examples. The facts as stated by Burckhardt have already been used by Mr Maclennan (*App. to Prim. Mar.*). Then as to polyandry itself, the evidence of Strabo, who had excellent information as to Arabia, has been already cited. He speaks of polyandry, but in a form where kinship is not through the mother only. Though the father is unknown, the blood of the father is certain. *Μοιχὸς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐξ ἄλλου γένους*[2]. It is clear however that this comparatively artificial system is not primitive. It must have been preceded by polyandry of the cruder form which Mr Maclennan names Nair polyandry, and which admits of no kinship but through the mother. And of this there are sufficient traces. Ammianus (XIV. 4) speaks of the temporary marriages of the Saracens (in which by the way we find the circumstance that the bride brings the tent). Dozy (*Musulmans d'Esp.* I. 36) cites from Al-Baçrî a case under the Caliph Omar I., in which an old Arab gave partnership in his wife to a younger man as hire for his services as a shepherd. Both men swore their ignorance that this was illegal. A curious passage from Yâḳût is cited by Sprenger (*Geog.* p. 97) with reference to the town of Mirbâṭ. "Die Einwohner sind Araber von der Art der alten Araber. Sie sind gute Leute aber haben abstossende, unverträgliche Manieren und ein starkes Nationalgefühl. Merkwürdig ist in ihnen die Abwesenheit der Eifersucht, eine Folge der Landessitte. Ihre Frauen gehen nämlich jede Nacht ausserhalb die Stadt, setzen sich zu fremden Männern, unterhalten sich und spielen mit ihnen einen grossen Theil der Nacht. Der Ehemann, Bruder, Sohn und Neffe geht vorüber, ohne Notiz zu nehmen und unterhält sich mit einer andern." Quite similar is the account given by Ibn Baṭûṭa, in the fourteenth cent., of the custom of Nazwa, the capital of 'Omân. "Their women multiply corruption without causing jealousy or offence." "Under the formal protection of the Sultan, any woman who pleases may indulge her corrupt desires, and neither her father nor her nearest relative can interfere" (vol. II. pp. 228, 230). Thus many centuries after Mohammed the ancient polyandry was still practically kept up, at least in Southern Arabia, in a grosser form than that described by Strabo. Such a custom necessarily produces a system of female kinship, and we may therefore presume that in the modern marriages between brother and sister in Mirbâṭ, for which Knobel on Lev. xviii. 6 cites the testimony of Seetzen, the relationship was through the father as in the case cited in last

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[1] The totem character of the dove among the Semites is confirmed by the fact that the Syrians would not eat it. Xen. Anab. i. 4, 9. Lucian *Dea Syria*, cap. 14. En-Nedîm in Chwolson's *Ssabier*, ii. 10. Compare the Hebrew name יוֹנָה.

[2] Nothing perhaps can be gathered for our argument from the sacred character acquired in certain circumstances by camels and other animals; Qor. v. 102; Lane s. vv. بَحِيرة, حامٍ, سائِبَة; yet from the first of these words a stock name is formed. Of sacred animals another trace is preserved (if the record can be trusted) in Arrian vii. 20. But Strabo xvi. 3 has a somewhat different account and omits the sacred animals.

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[1] Maclennan *Prim. Mar.* ch. viii.

[2] This doctrine has curious connections. Strabo says *μίγνυνται δὲ καὶ μητράσι*. This is to be connected with Qor'ân iv. 26, where marriage with a father's wife is forbidden, "except what is passed." He who married his father's wife was called *ḍayzan* (ضيزن), Abulf. *Hist. A.-I.* p. 180, and the verb in the sixth form means "to demand one's father's wife, whom the pagan Arabs thought they should inherit along with the property" (Zamachsharî in the App. to Golius and Freyt. s. v.). This custom explains several things in the Old Testament; the conduct of Reuben (Gen. xxxv. 22), the anger of Ishbosheth at Abner (2 Sam. iii. 7), an act which seemed to encroach on his birthright. So Absalom served himself heir to David (2 Sam. xvi. 22) without exciting any horror among the Israelites. And Adonijah on asking the hand of Abishag claimed the elder brother's inheritance (1 Kings ii. 22) or at least one part of it (vv. 15, 16). Another point in Strabo's statement may be readily misunderstood. "All are"—that is are called—"brothers of all." They were not brothers in our sense of the word, and so in the anecdote that follows, the fact that the wife is called the sister of her fifteen husbands only proves that she was of the same *γένος*. In other words marriage was now endogamous. Yet marriage with a half sister (not uterine) occurs in the history

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of the Arab kings of Ḥîra (Nöldeke's transl. of Ṭabarî, p. 133)—a well known consequence of the system of female kinship.

footnote. There is abundance of other evidence for the system of female kinship in occasional hints in the older Arabic histories and legends, and it is indifferent for our purpose whether the record is in each case historically accurate or not. The queen of Sheba is the oldest evidence in point, for queens do not belong to the patriarchal system. The famous queen Zabbâ is a similar case. There are several instances in the old history where the succession is said to have gone to a sister's son (Abulf. *H. A.-I.* p. 118, l. 1, p. 122, l. 6). With this agrees the widespread practice of distinguishing princes by their mother's names (Nöld. *ut supra*, p. 170). The same usage is found in tribal names. The Benî Chindif are expressly said to bear the name of their mother—"not mentioning their father Ilyâs" (Abulf. p. 196, l. 4). In the same way the Benî Mozeyna are named from their mother (ib. l. 6); a custom which necessarily implies that children belong to the mother; and her people were found in Zebîd as late as the time of Ibn Baṭûṭa (II. p. 167 seq.). The women readily consented to marry strangers, who might depart when they pleased, but the children remained with the mother, whom no inducement could draw from her native place. These facts appear sufficient to prove that Arabia did pass through a stage in which family relations and the marriage law satisfied the conditions of the totem system, and in which on that system the distribution of animal sub-tribes (*buṭûn*) among different groups, as we find it in the tribal genealogies, is perfectly natural.

At this point I must for the present close the argument as regards Arabia. It could doubtless be greatly strengthened by a full survey of the native literature, for which I hope to find opportunity at another time. But meantime we have found unambiguous parallels to every leading feature of the totem system, and have been able to reason back to a state of matters which the purely astral theory as put by Baudissin is utterly incompetent to explain. Of course I do not affirm that Arabic religion is merely a development of totemism—least of all in the South, where Babylonian and perhaps other foreign influences may have operated to no small extent. Nor does totemism exhaust the religious ideas even of the typically totem nations. The North American Indians had their Master of Life, a being who protected the totem system, and whom they identified with a lofty rock in Lake Superior (Fort. Rev. 1869, p. 416). Here too the Arabic analogy is most striking: Fuls, the idol of the Tayyites, was a naked rock on Mt Aǵa' (Osiander, *ut supra*, p. 501; comp. Dozy, p. 201)[1].

I now pass on to the Biblical data. The southern and eastern frontiers of Canaan were inhabited by tribes which had affinities both to Israel and to the Arabs. The Midianites and Amalekites were Arabs. So were the Qenites and Rechabites notwithstanding their alliance with Israel. And in the tribe of Judah large nomadic elements were incorporated, notably the Hezronites in their two great branches of Caleb (Kalibbites) and Jerahmeel. On this topic I simply refer to Wellhausen *De Gentibus et Familiis Judaeis* (Götting., 1870). In this district then we may fairly expect analogies to what we have found in Arabia. In fact the Kalibbites are at once recognisable as a dog-tribe, and 'Oreb and Ze'eb the princes of Midian are the Raven and the Wolf, heads no doubt of tribes of the same name. In fact Caleb (= kalib = kalb, by the rule that فَعَّل and فَعِل are interchangeable, Lumsden, Ar. Gr. 348), 'Oreb, and Ze'eb, are identical with the Arabic tribal names Kalb, Ghorâb and Dhi'b.

The most interesting case however is that of the Horites (Troglodytes), the aboriginal inhabitants of Se'ir, who were subsequently incorporated with the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi.; comp. Deut. ii. 12). The tribal system of the Horites is exhibited in the usual genealogical form and the names given

[1] In the further development of this subject it would be desirable to keep in view the great division of the Arabs into Ma'addites and Yemenites. The same animal tribes are found in both of these divisions, but the evidence as to the law of kinship is mainly from the latter group. I may here note that according to Agatharchides (*Geog. Gr. Min.* ed. Müller I. 153) the totem system was also found on the other side of the Erythrean among the Troglodytes, μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τὰς γυναῖκας ἔχουσι κοινὰς πλὴν μιᾶς τῆς τυράννου (this is confirmed by Strabo XVI. 4 from Artemidorus). Further: "They give the name of parent to no human being, but to the bull and the cow, the ram and the ewe, because from them they have their daily nourishment."

seem to shew that they were a Semitic race. That the list in Gen. xxxvi. 20 seq. really is an account of tribal or local divisions, and not a literal genealogy, is obvious. אֲלּוּף is not a title of office (E. V. *duke*), for the list of Edomite אֲלּוּפִים in ver. 40 seq. is "according to clans and places", and includes names that are certainly local, Elah = Elath, Mibzar (fortress) = Bozrah. And the Horite list also contains local names, ‘Uz, ‘Ebal, and perhaps others. A large proportion too of the names ends in ân or âm, equivalent to the Hebrew termination in ôn, which in many cases seems to be a tribal or local rather than an individual name-form[1]. But the Horite genealogy, like the Arabic lists, is full of animal names. This fact has been already observed by Dillmann, who had no theory to guide him; and I have only to repeat his etymologies, most of which are indeed obvious.

Shobal (שׁוֹבָל), *young lion* (diminutive from شِبْل, like גּוֹרָל, גּוֹזָל, Ew. Lehrb. § 167).

Zibeon (צִבְעוֹן), *hyaena.*

‘Anah (עֲנָה), *wild ass* (عانة).

Dishon and Dishan (דִּישׁוֹן, דִּישָׁן) a sort of *antelope*, Deut. xiv. 5.

Thus of the "sons" of Se‘ir, five have animal names (Dishon and Dishan counting as two). Again, the sons of Zibeon are ‘Anah (עֲנָה) and Aiyah (אַיָּה). The former is again the *Wild ass*, the latter the *Kite*. Dishon appears again as a son of ‘Anah. Of the sons of Dishan one is the local name ‘Uz; the other is Aran (אֲרָן), that is, the *Ibex* (Syr. ܐܪܢܐ). ‘Anah however claims further notice. ‘Anah is represented in three ways: (1) as daughter of Zibeon, verses 2 and 14, Hivite in ver. 2 being admittedly an old error of the text for Horite; (2) as son of Se‘ir and brother of Zibeon, ver. 20; (3) as son of Zibeon, ver. 24.

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[1] On this form see Wellhausen *ut supra* p. 37. I cannot however think that he is right in making the termination a mere nunation.

These various statements shew that we have here no true genealogy, but a systematisation of tribal facts. And one form shews that the Horite animal tribes were conceived as introduced among the Edomites in the female line, as we should expect to be the case. The variations in the position of Dishon or Dishan are similarly instructive. They shew that the Antelope stock was divided over the nation in a way that puzzled the genealogist, whose tribal divisions take a local shape.

I cannot of course prove the worship of the animals who gave names to Horite tribes. But the following point seems worth notice. We know that one Arabic god was worshipped in Edom, namely Κοζέ, Joseph. *Arch.* xv. 7, 9, whom Tuch and Lagarde have identified with the rainbow god Quzaḥ. I think I detect two other Arabian gods among the names in Gen. xxxvi. At ver. 14 we have a supplementary list of descendants of ‘Anah through union with ‘Esau. One is an animal, Jaalam (יַעְלָם) that is, stripping off the terminational âm, יַעֲלָה, the *Ibex* (compare the Kenite name Jael). Another is יְעוּשׁ, Je‘ush, which is the phonetical equivalent of the Arabic lion-god Yaghûth “the protector.” Again, in ver. 27, ‘Akan (עֲקָן), son of Ezer, is generally identified with the “sons of Ja‘akan,” Deut. x. 6, and 1 Chron. i. 42 actually gives יַעֲקָן. Here again, if we reject the termination, we seem to have a form equivalent to Ya‘ûq.

These Horite or Edomite names form a bridge for us to pass over to the Children of Israel, or at least to the tribe of Judah. That many Midianite and Edomite tribal names are found among the Hezronites (that is the originally nomadic inhabitants of חֲצֵרִים nomad encampments) is a point to which Wellhausen has called attention (*ut supra*, p. 38 seq.). I will not reproduce his list, but content myself with pointing out that some of these names are animal. ‘Epher, עֵפֶר, Γεφάρ = غِفْر, *fawn*, or *calf of the wild cow*, is Midianite, Judean and Manassite (Gen. xxv. 4; 1 Chron. iv. 17; v. 24); and of the names already noticed we have in Judah Shobal and אֹרָן which differs from Arân only in pointing. The fact that thirteen Edomite and two Midianite names appear identically or with slight variations among the Hezronites can hardly be explained except on the principles of totem kinship.

But indeed we find the same distribution of stock-names over a wide surface in the various tribes and districts of Israel itself. Here we must always bear in mind that our records are drawn from a time of comparatively high civilization and settled agricultural life. Thus we shall often have to deal with names of towns rather than of tribes or clans. But the townsmen formed a sort of clan, as is plain from the way in which towns figure in the genealogies. Thus we find ‘Ophrah (עָפְרָה), *fawn*, as a town in Benjamin, a town in Manasseh, and again in the Judean genealogies (1 Chr. iv. 14) as a son of Me‘ônothai (a name identical with the Arabic Me‘ûnim, 2 Chron. xxvi. 7). These names are at bottom one with the ‘Epher series, and also with ‘Ephron (עֶפְרוֹן with the now familiar termination), which is the name of a town and mountain, and in Benjamin of the Hittite noble who gave his name to the district of Machpelah. Again from זֶמֶר, *a species of antelope* or *wild goat,* we have the Arabic race of Zimrân, Gen. xxv. 2; the kings of Zimri, Jer. xxv. 25; a Judean name Zimri, 1 Chron. ii. 6; a Benjamite of the same name, 1 Chron. viii. 36; and a Simeonite prince, the head of a clan, Num. xxv. 14 (also 1 Kings xvi. 9). From עֵגֶל, *calf,* we have ‘Eglon, a king of Moab, and ‘Eglon, a Judean town. There is, it may be observed, an Arabic tribal name identical with this (عِجْل). Now it is generally supposed that animal names of places such as these, to which may be added Aiyalon (אַיָּלוֹן stag-town), Sha‘albim (fox-town, comp. the Arabic tribe Tha‘laba) and so forth, are named "a cervorum vitulorum cet. copia" (Gesen.) But such a theory is intrinsically unnatural. It squares very ill with the fact that the local names are constantly found also as tribal names or names of kings and other individuals; with the association in which we find, for example, side by side, an Amorite town of foxes and another of stags (Judges i. 35); and with the continuous line of connection that binds these names with the Arabic phenomena. A good instance is that of localities with a panther name. We have in the tribe of Gad, Nimrah, Beth-Nimrah or Beth-Nimrin, and near it the waters of Nimrim. Now Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xxix. p. 437, cites four places with similar panther names in the Ḥaurân, and remarks that the numerous names of places from the root נמר probably denote the panther-like spotted or striped look of the ground. This conjecture shews the inadequacy of the usual method of explanation. When we find in Arabia a Namir (Sprenger *Geog.* p. 273) in the possession of the Benî Wâbish, a branch of the Qoḍâ'a, we at once connect the name with Namir, a subtribe of the Qoḍâ'a. Is it not far more probable that the same thing applies to the panther localities east of the Jordan, and that these two have their name from the panther stock which, as we have seen, turns up in so many forms in Arabia? Perhaps we can even identify the totem deity of the name; for Jacob of Sarûg in the text published by Martin, *ZDMG.* xxix. p. 110 l. 52, speaks of ܒܪܢܡܪ̈ܐ "the son of panthers" as a false deity of Ḥarran.

To sum up all these scattered observations, we may say that the Arabian analogies are not merely general but amount to the fact that the same names which appear as totem tribes in Arabia reach through Edom, Midian, and Moab, into the land of Canaan. In Canaan they appear with a local distribution which at once becomes an intelligible unity if we can assume that at an early date the totem system prevailed there also. But to make this account of the names conform to the character of a legitimate hypothesis we must have reason to believe that Canaan, like Arabia, once acknowledged the system of kinship which alone can produce the necessary distribution of a totem name. Here we must distinguish between the people of Israel and the earlier inhabitants. Many of the animal names are no doubt of Canaanite origin, as we saw from Judges i. 35. Now we have the express statement of Lev. xviii. that the Egyptians and Canaanites did form such marriages as by the Hebrew law are incestuous[1]. In Egypt this was certainly connected with the totem system. It can hardly have been otherwise in Canaan, for variations from the Hebrew law could not well follow any other principle than that of female kinship. For this we have express evidence in the case of the Phoenicians, among whom, according to Ach. Tatius cited by Selden *De Jure Nat. et Gent.* v. 11, marriage with a sister not uterine was allowed. We are therefore justified in concluding that the conditions of the totem system did exist in Canaan; and if so, the animal names and their distribution are sufficient indication that the system itself prevailed there as in Arabia. In one case indeed the facts are unmistakeable. The Shechemites, or at least the aristocracy of the town (Judges ix. 28), called themselves sons of Ḥămôr, the he-ass, Gen. xxxiii. 19. But how was it among the Israelites? The laws of incest, as given in Lev. xviii. xx., belong to a part of the Levitical legislation which presents considerable difficulty to critics, but at any rate they are probably later than the code of Deuteronomy, where the only prohibition of the kind is directed against marriage with one's father's wife, xxiii. 1. The precept in Deuteronomy abolishes the practice which we found subsisting in heathen Arabia, by which the son inherited his father's wife as well as his estate[2]. To this offence Ezekiel xxii. 11 adds two others, connection with a daughter in law and with a half-sister the daughter of one's father. All three forms of incest, which are put on one line with adultery and connexion with a menstruous woman, were, according to the prophet, practised in Jerusalem. And the history seems to shew that all three were once recognised customs. The taking of a father's wife was not altogether obsolete in the time of David (see above). Judah's children by Tamar became the heads of his house, being clearly (as Hupfeld long ago shewed) the fruit of a legitimate extension of the levirate law. Judah

[1] The expression גִּלָּה עֶרְוָה means to contract a marriage, as appears from the usage witnessed to by the Arabic proverb in Freyt. I. 234.

[2] In the "framework" of the Deuteronomic code, we have three prohibitions: father's wife (xxvii. 20), sister uterine or germane (ver. 22), and wife's mother (ver. 23).

Also a mut'a marriage [illegible]

indeed admits that Tamar's conduct was perfectly correct (Gen. xxxviii. 26); the rule is the Arab rule in Strabo, μοιχὸς ὁ ἐξ ἄλλου γένους. Finally, a marriage with a sister not uterine was contracted by Abraham, and can hardly have been forbidden in the time of David (2 Sam. xii. 13, comp. ver. 16 LXX.). The last case points to female kinship, the other two are relics of Tibetan or British polyandry. Of such polyandry we have express testimony in the eighth cent. B.C., Amos ii. 7[1]. The practices condemned by the higher moral sense of the prophets were, it appears, remnants of old usage. Along with these facts we find other evidences of an ancient system of kinship through women. The presents by which Rebekah was purchased for Isaac went to her mother and her brother (Gen. xxiv. 53). Laban claims his daughters' children as his own (Gen. xxxi. 43). The duty of blood revenge appears to lie on the kin by the mother's side (Judges viii. 19[2]). Even for exogamy and marriage by capture there is a law in Deut. xxi. 10 seq., and a notable case in Judges xxi. The narrative in Judges seems to be tolerably recent (see Wellhausen, *Gesch.* I. 246). This trait therefore is presumably the specialisation of an old custom illustrated by a narrative, as in the book of Ruth. The usage itself is faintly reflected in the custom described in *Mishna Ta'anith*, cap. VIII., where we learn that on a festal occasion the daughters of Jerusalem used to go out and in a dance invite the young men to choose a spouse. With such facts before us, and with the certainty that the early Hebrews had no scruple in intermarrying with the surrounding nations, it appears only natural that the totem tribes of their neighbours should reappear in Israel, as we have seen to be the case at all events in Judah.

also in Arab.

In this connection a peculiar interest attaches to the singular history of the tribe of Simeon. Already in the blessing of Jacob Simeon is coupled with Levi as a tribe scattered in Israel. There were Simeonites in the south of Judah, but they do not appear there as a complete and independent local tribe, and according to Gen. xlix. there must also have been branches of the tribe elsewhere. Now in the name Simeon (שִׁמְעוֹן), the ôn is a mere termination, and the gentilicium may as well be Shimei (שִׁמְעִי) as שִׁמְעֹנִי. This is clear from 1 Chron iv. 27, where Shimei is just the Judean Simeonites collectively. But there is also a family Shimei in Levi, viz. Shimei ben Gershon (Ex. vi, 17). We find the same name in Reuben, 1 Chron. v. 4; and the Benjamite Shimei who plays so important a figure in David's history was a great chieftain. The connection of Simeon and Benjamin is also expressed in the genealogy which makes Jamin and Saul sons of Simeon (1 Chron. iv. 24). This dispersion of the tribe of Simeon is most easily understood on the principles of exogamy and female kinship. While the men of other stocks separated themselves out and formed a political and local unity by conquest of territory, as strong totem tribes sometimes have been known to do among the Indians (F. R. 1869, p. 413), Simeon may be supposed to have remained in the position of a divided stock, having representatives through the female line in different local groups. Hence as the old system of kinship was displaced, Simeon lost all importance and ultimately dropped from the list of tribes. In confirmation of this view we may remember that the Danites in like manner did not establish themselves as a local tribe till a comparatively late date (Jud. xviii. 1; cf. Gen. xlix. 16)[1].

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[1] Tac. Hist. v. 5 *projectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu abstinent; inter se nihil illicitum.* Was there historical basis for this accusation, or does Tacitus perhaps confound the Jews with their Phœnician or Arabian neighbours?

[2] As it is well known that the law of blood revenge is often extended to the violation of women, Gen. xxxiv. and 2 Sam. xiii. are also cases in point.

I might add a number of minor confirmations to this theory by comparing proper names of different tribes or of Israel and foreign countries. For example the Edomite or rather Horite names Bilhan and Je'ush *reappear* in Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 10)[2]. Achbor (the *Mouse*), is an Edomite name—apparently a stock-name (Gen. xxxvi. 38), as the jerboa and another mouse-name

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[1] Hitzig's identification of Simeon and Sim', which we have found as an Arabic tribe, has been noticed above.

[2] The former name is perhaps equivalent to the Arabic Bâhila (Sprenger p. 212). May we also compare Bilhah?

عَضَل (Abulf. *H. A.-I.* 196, 10) are among the Arabs. The same name occurs in Judah. But such isolated facts do not really carry us further. What we want to complete the argument is twofold; (1) direct evidence to connect the animal names with animal worship, and (2) proof that men with a common animal stock-name in different tribes or nations recognised their unity of stock. Our most definite information as to animal worship in Israel is derived from Ezek. viii. 10, 11. There we find seventy of the elders of Israel—that is, the heads of houses—worshipping in a chamber which had on its walls the figures of all manner of unclean creeping things and quadrupeds, *even all the idols of the house of Israel.* In some sense then, there was a national worship, not a foreign innovation but apparently an old superstition, on which the people had fallen back, because, as they said, Jehovah would not attend to them. It appears also, that though the prophet in vision saw the seventy elders together, the actual practice was that each elder had his own chamber of imagery (ver. 12). We have here in short an account of gentile or family idolatry, in which the head of each house acted as priest. And the family images which are the object of the cult are those of unclean reptiles and quadrupeds (רמשׁ ובהמה שׁקץ). The last point is important. The word שׁקץ is in the Levitical law the technical term for a creature that must not be used as food. That such prohibitions are associated with the totem system of animal worship is well known. The totem is not eaten by men of its stock, or else is eaten sacramentally on special occasions, while conversely to eat the totem of an enemy is a laudable exploit. Thus in the fact that the animals worshipped were *unclean* in the Levitical sense we gain an additional argument that the worship was of the totem type. And finally, to clinch the whole matter, we find that among the worshippers Ezekiel recognised Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan—that is of the rock badger (E.V. coney), which *is* one of the unclean quadrupeds (Deut. xiv. 7; Lev. xi. 5), and must therefore have been figured on the wall as his particular stock-god and animal ancestor. It so happens that the totem character of the *shaphan,* or, as the Arabs call him, the *wabr,* is certified by a quite independent piece of testimony. The Arabs of the Sinai peninsula to this day refuse to eat the flesh of the *wabr*, whom they call "man's brother," and suppose to be a human being transformed. Were a man to break this rule he could never look on his father and mother again (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, I. p. 98). The close connection which we have found to exist between Arab tribes and southern Judah, and the identity of so many of the stock-names among the two, give this fact a direct significance[1].

The connection between animal worship and forbidden foods is a point which calls for special investigation. In the case of the Hebrews it is well known that no one has yet given a satisfactory theory of the distinction between clean and unclean animals. But it can hardly be doubted that there is a conscious antithesis to heathen ceremonies in which unclean animals were sacrificed and eaten as a religious act, as indeed is expressly affirmed for the swine, the mouse, and the שֶׁקֶץ or unclean creatures generally, in Isai. lxvi. 17; lxv. 4; lxvi. 3. The mouse has already come before us as a proper name both in Judah and in Edom, and we have it as a stock-name in Arabia, while its religious importance is also indicated in 1 Sam. vi. 4. The swine too occurs in the Old Testament as a proper name, 1 Chr. xxiv. 15; Neh. x. 21. Whether the heathen sacrifices of such animals were sacramental in stocks of the same name or triumphant in hostile stocks, I do not pretend to decide. But the former is more likely, because then the Mosaic prohibition would fit into the old custom (which forbids the ordinary use of the totem as food), while at the same time expressing protest against the occasional sacramental use. And in the case of the Syrian sacred fish we know that habitual abstinence from this kind of food did go with its use in religious ritual[1].

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[1] There can be little doubt that the *wabr* was once an Arabic totem, though the proverb "more contemptible than a wabr" (Fr. I. p. 493) is not respectful. Wabra (the female rock-badger) occurs in the mythical genealogies of the Qoḍâ'ites (Abulf. p. 182) and also as the name of a place (Sprenger, p. 39). The people of Wabâr are in the mythical history (Tabarî I. 214, Ibn Athîr ed. Bulâq I. 31) sons of Amîm son of Lud, who dwelt in sandy Arabia and were destroyed by God or transformed into one-legged monsters. In spite of the *a* in the first syllable, this seems to be the plural of *wabr* and to be a variation of the Bedawî legend. It is curious that the Arabs call the *wabr* the *sheep of the children of Israel.*

Our analysis of the testimony of Ezekiel appears to prove that superstition of the totem kind had still a hold on the Israelites in the last years of the independence of the kingdom of Judah. I shall now attempt to shew that in the time of David the kinship of animal stocks was still acknowledged between Israel and the surrounding nations. For this purpose I observe that David seems to have belonged to the serpent stock. Among his ancestors the most prominent is Naḥshon, who bears the serpent-name with the usual termination. Again Abigail, who in 1 Chron. ii. 16 appears as David's sister, was the daughter of Naḥash (2 Sam. xvii. 25). Hence it follows either that Jesse was himself called by the stock-name of *Serpent*, or, what is of equal force for our argument, that the members of his stock were called children of the Serpent. With this it agrees that in the temple at Jerusalem a brazen serpent was worshipped up to the time of Hezekiah by burning incense before it, just as was done according to Ezekiel in the gentile worship of his day (2 Kings xviii. 4). The temple was the court chapel of David's dynasty and was not likely to contain the animal deity of another stock. David himself was beyond such worship; but there were teraphim in his house (1 Sam. xix. 13), and many of his descendants were gross idolaters. Finally, Adonijah chose the serpent-stone as the place of his coronation (1 Kings i. 9). Now it has always been a puzzle that David was on such friendly terms with Naḥash king of the Ammonites, who was a great enemy of Israel, and especially of Israel beyond the Jordan, with which district

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[1] Athenaeus lib. viii. cap. 37, Lucian *De Syr. Dea*, cap. 14, Xen. Anab. i. 4, 9, and other references in Selden *De Diis Syris* II. 3, Movers *Phoenizier* I. 391. That the Syrians would not eat pigeons has been noticed above. On the forbidden foods of the heathen of Harran, see En-Nedîm in Chwolson II. 9 seq. As I do not enlarge on Syrian animal worship I may here cite also from the same author (Chwolson, p. 46) the acknowledgment in the mysteries of the Ḥarranians that dogs, ravens and ants are "our brothers."—Of forbidden foods among the heathen Arabs I can say almost nothing; but some facts are certainly to be found in the traditions of the prophet. There were apparently discussions about the eating of locusts and birds (Hamaker's notes on Ps. Wâkidy, p. 15).

David from an early period cultivated friendly relations. And the curious thing is that the friendship between the two houses was not broken even by the great and bitter war that destroyed Ammonite independence, for a son of the Ammonite serpent was among the foremost to help David in his flight from Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 27). It would seem that the true solution lies in the common serpent-stock, which was a stronger bond than all motives of national hostility. As the Ammonites were presumably less advanced in culture than Israel, it is quite possible that by their law Hanun was not of his father's stock at all.

In closing this paper I shall advert in a single word to the bearings of the subject on the great problem of the Old Testament religion. It is a favourite speculation that the Hebrews or the Semites in general have a natural capacity for spiritual religion. They are either represented as constitutionally monotheistic, or at least we are told that their worship had in it from the first, and apart from revelation, a lofty character from which spiritual ideas were easily developed. That was not the opinion of the prophets, who always deal with their nation as one peculiarly inaccessible to spiritual truths and possessing no natural merit which could form the ground of its choice as the people of Jehovah. Our investigations appear to confirm this judgment, and to shew that the superstitions with which the spiritual religion had to contend were not one whit less degrading than those of the most savage nations. And indeed the second commandment, the cardinal precept of spiritual worship, is explicitly directed against the very worship of the denizens of air, earth and water which we have been able to trace out. It does not appear that Israel was, by its own wisdom, more fit than any other nation to rise above the lowest level of heathenism[1].

W. ROBERTSON SMITH.

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[1] The substitution of an image for the living animal god is well illustrated by the golden and silver fish used in the worship of Atergatis (Athenaeus, l. c.), which do not affect the fact, as stated by Xenophon, that the living fish were themselves treated as divine. To the fish stock may be referred the Hebrew Ben Nun and Syriac ܒܢܘܢܐ.

VERGILI TROJAMENTUM. AEN. V. 560—587.

560 Tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur
Ductores: pueri bis seni quemque secuti
Agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.

....

577 Postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum
Lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis
Epytides longe dedit, insonuitque flagello.
580 Olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni
Diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati
Convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.
Inde alios cursus ineunt aliosque recursus
Adversis spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbes
585 Impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;
Et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
Infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.

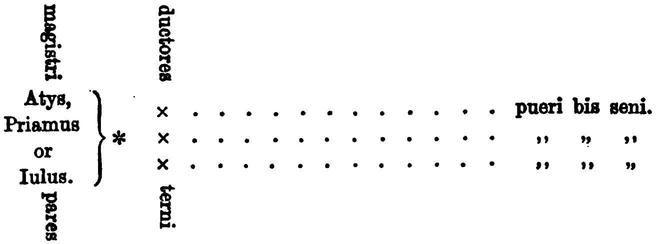
One of the purposes which Virgil most consistently and most completely carried out in the Aeneid was that of giving to the forms of Roman ceremonial the grace and authority of remote antiquity. He did this by ascribing their institution to the great missionary who, by command of fate and with heaven's sanction, first, and for all time, established in Latium *mores ritusque sacrorum.* His motive was to assist the second Aeneas, the great revivalist, Augustus, to bring about the moral and religious regeneration of Rome.

Virgil shows, in the performance of his task, a wide and minute acquaintance with pontifical and augural learning; and he points, with almost formal exactness, the smallest details of ceremonial procedure.

Hence he would have made a striking departure from his general practice, if, in the present elaborate passage, he had not given an accurate picture of the '*certamina*' exhibited in the '*ludicrum Trojae*,' so lately revived and celebrated by the Emperor. That he intended to give such an accurate picture of the game, and that he himself, at any rate, thought he had done so, is demonstrated by the emphatic lines (596—602) with which he ends the scene. In these lines he tells us distinctly that the manœuvres which were then first performed became fixed and traditional: and he would hardly have told us this, had he not furnished us with an account, poetical indeed but pretty definite, of what they were.

The text seems to require a different view of the *turma* from that generally taken; and, although the rejection of this new view will not invalidate the interpretation of the evolutions to be given below, its acceptance will make them clearer, and will increase the importance and magnificence of the spectacle. Virgil's words (560—576) seem most easily and most exactly to bear this sense:—*Troops of mounted boys, in number three, ride about, each troop under the guidance of three leaders (front-rank men, fuglemen): each leader has behind him, and under his control, a file of twelve boys, each file riding in a separate and distinct line; and the troops, as wholes, are commanded by three chief-captains, corresponding to each other in position and authority, Priamus, Atys and Iulus.*

The following figure will represent one *turma* or *acies*.



In this way *terni* gets its proper force. Of course there are many passages in Virgil where distributives are used very nearly as cardinals; but here, where numbers are emphatically important (observe *numero*, and see below) such a usage would be very careless and ambiguous. Besides, *terni* just below has its proper force, and is there also used in close relation to these *ductores*. In this way, also, we get the *ductores* as special officers, whose presence and guidance will be absolutely necessary in the formation of the several *agmina* into *chori* (580); and we may remark that *ducere* is the word regularly employed in Latin to signify the marshalling of *chori* (*diductis* 581); and that *chori* is particularly appropriate to bodies of twelve boys, as the Greek chorus (at least in Aeschylus) consists exactly of that number of members. *Agmine partito*, too, gets a clear and distinct meaning, and one which has an important bearing on what is to follow, for each *agmen* will have to perform an independent evolution; and *agmen* itself thus obtains the same signification which it must bear in 580, which is at the same time its original signification. Cf. I. 393, *Aspice bis senos laetantes agmine cycnos...ordine longo. Pueri bis seni quemque secuti* in the same way is not only accurately translated, but is strictly parallel to the similar phrase employed in IX. 159—164, an unmistakeable reminiscence of the present passage, where too, as here, we have a chief-captain and under-officers, each of the latter with a specified following.

> 'Interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas
> Cura datur Messapo, et moenia cingere flammis.
> Bis septem Rutuli, muros qui milite servent,
> Delecti; ast illos centeni quemque sequuntur.....
> Discurrunt etc.'

Still further, *ductores* being distinguished from *magistris*, we avoid an aimless tautology; and *magistris* has great appropriateness (cf. *magister equitum*) as signifying the more dignified posts of chief authority held by the three noble youths, who are now immediately named.

Each complete *turma*[1], then, requires 40 boys, and the whole game 120 boys. It need hardly be said, that the effect of the spectacle would be in direct proportion to the numbers engaged in it. It is improbable that Augustus' magnificence would have been content with anything on a small scale; and Virgil would describe what he saw. Lest however it be objected that Aeneas could hardly find so many boys for the purpose of this show among his followers, it will be well to examine for a moment the magnitude of the Aenead expedition as it was conceived by Virgil. Aeneas is filled with wonder at the *ingens numerus* (II. 796) of Trojan exiles waiting to accompany him, and adds still more III. 8. They fill the shores, III. 71, IV. 410, 582. Some die in Crete, III. 140, and Orontes and his Lycian ship are lost, I. 113. Yet Dido's gift to the crews of the remainder consists of no less than 20 bulls, 100 swine, 100 sheep and 100 lambs—Acestes V. 61 gives 38 oxen—, and although only the nobler Trojans and Tyrians dine in the hall with Dido and Aeneas, yet 200 waiters are provided. The day after Aeneas' return to Sicily, before the Sicanians gather at the news, he calls his companions to a meeting, and proceeds to Anchises' tomb *multis cum milibus* V. 75. In Sicily he leaves a *populus* (V. 750), and only takes *lectos juvenes* to Italy. Yet on his arrival there he sends to Latinus *centum oratores delectos* (VII. 152); in X. 120 his followers in the fortified camp are called *legio Aeneadum*; and no less than 1000 *lecti* accompany Pallas' corpse, XI. 61. We must remark also the enormous preparations made to repel him, VII. 629 sqq. and elsewhere; and the details of the slaughter in the battles suggest the presence of large numbers of Trojans.

If, again, we look at Aeneas' fleet, we find it consists, after Orontes' loss, of 19 ships, some of great size. For instance, the 'Chimaera' was a trireme, and was *urbis opus*, V. 119; and we hear of two biremes, VIII. 79. The magnitude of the Virgilian ship may be inferred from X. 163 sqq. where 4000 allies are carried in 30 ships, yielding an average of about 130 men per vessel. Hence the fleet of Aeneas may be supposed to have been easily able to furnish 120 boys for the Trojan game, or, in other words, but 6 or 7 from each ship.

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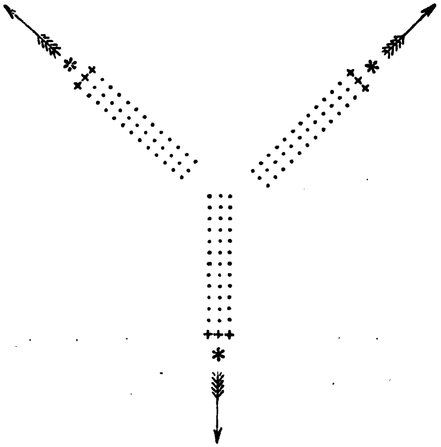
[1] Each *turma equitum* in the Roman legion consisted, on an average, of about 40 men.

Lastly, lest Acestes be thought unable to mount so many as 117 or 118 boys, we may remember that Latinus (VII. 275) had no less than 300 choice steeds in his own stables.

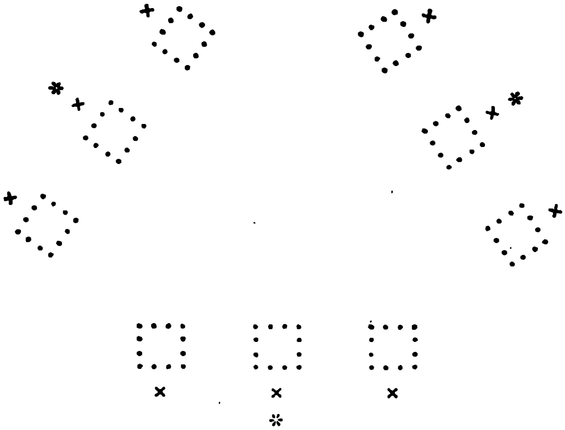
575—587. The horsemen began their movements by riding round the *consessus* of spectators, for the gratification of their friends. Then the three troops took their stations (*paratis*), which it is most natural to suppose were equidistant from one another, that is at the angles of an equilateral triangle, in the middle of the large '*circus*' which had been cleared for them (551).

All three troops perform the same movements simultaneously; and it is indispensable to recognise the fact that the number *three* is the basis of the operations. Virgil shows this himself, clearly enough, by dwelling on the word: '*tres numero*,' '*terni*,' '*una—alter—extremus*,' '*pares*,' '*terni*.'

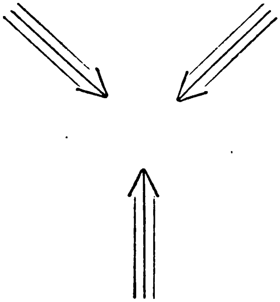
First, at the given signal, the troops rode off in different directions but in similar formation.



Then each troop detached its constituent files into three widely separated groups (the shape of which is not defined, except by the word *chori*, which suggests small *squares*).



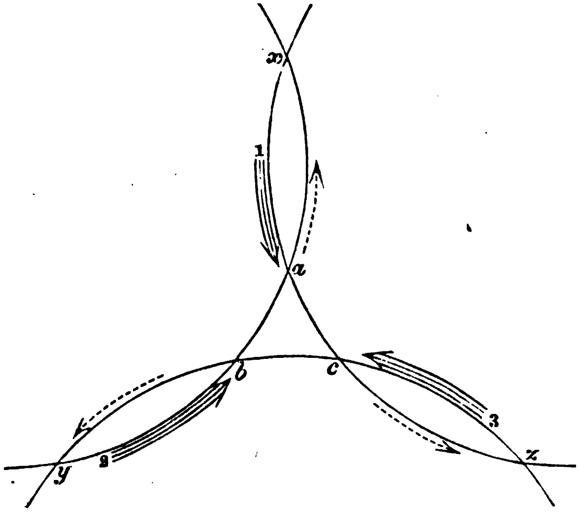
Then, reforming into troops again at the word of command, they wheeled round and made for the centre, with arms levelled for combat.



Thus we see the important duties that devolved on the *ductores*, of dressing their files, detaching and forming them into the *chori*, and then reforming them into their positions in the troops.

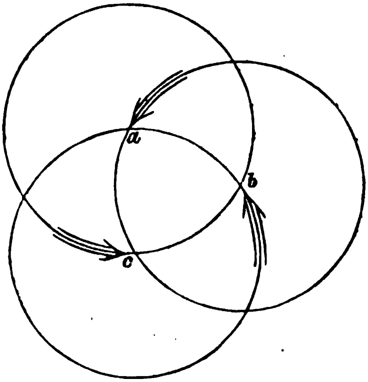
Then they enter on other movements, departing from and returning to their stations on corresponding courses (lists, grounds), each troop, by the circle it describes, cutting the circles described by its rivals; and thus they awake a mimicry of armed conflict—for at one time all the troops are flying from one another and exposing their flanks, at another time they couch their spears as they bear down on one another, and at last they strike a truce and ride side by side in line together.

All these are the effects presented by a single simple movement. Starting from their stations, to which the close of the first movement (which was probably repeated) restored them, each troop simultaneously with the others describes a circle, say to the left, in such a way that it cuts the circles described by the other two troops on the corresponding grounds (which overlap). From the figure it is obvious that the troops will



never actually collide; for by the time 1 is at *c*, 2 will be at *a* and 3 at *b*. In the first half of the movement, as soon as they have passed these points, they will appear to be flying, each from the other two, as in the dotted arrows. But in the second half, as they are returning (through *x*, *y* and *z*), each troop will appear to be charging both the others at once.

That this movement, so simple in principle and performance, will present a complicated spectacle to the eye will be readily recognised by all who remember the 'double lancers' performed by the riders at the circus. Of course it is not proposed to tie down this movement of the Trojamentum to the exact figure drawn above, but only to the principle of it. Just the same principle, if the centres are drawn closer together, gives



Or, if the centres are after each round shifted equally, in the same direction, up the ground, the result, produced by the same simple evolution, is a figure remarkable in its '*labyrintheis flexibus*,' and intricate enough in appearance to satisfy the most Trojan-minded or erratic 'school of dolphins.'

F. P. SIMPSON.

A PHILOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF THE MYTH OF THE SIRENS.

Besides the mythical songstresses

σειρήν means

1. A small kind of *bee;* Arist. H. A. 9, 40. 2: prov. ap. Suid., s.v., *σειρὴν μὲν φίλον ἀγγέλλει ξεῖνον δὲ μέλιττα*; so Hesych. *σειρὴν μέλιττα.*

2. A *bird.*
   (*a*) a *nightingale*[1] (*ἀηδονίς*) Anth. Gr. App. 349.
   (*b*) a *swan.* Suid.

3. A sort of *bell.*

On these meanings we may remark that in general *σειρήν* would seem to mean 'something that gives forth sounds,' a humming bee, a tinkling bell or a bird as chirping, singing, &c.: and that of these meanings that of 'bird' is commonest and most developed.

Connexions of *σειρήν* may be found in *ἀ-σίρ-α-κος* the name of a *locust without wings* in Diosc. 2. 57 and *σι-σίλ-αρο-ς*, the Paphian word for a *partridge* (Hesych.). The root would seem to be SVAR to *sound* (Curt. Gr. Etym. no. 519) which appears in Ch. Slavonic in the form *svir*. *ἀ-σίρ-ακος* (for *ἀ-σϝιρ-ακο-ς*) then will be the locust that does *not buzz*, as opposed to *ἀκρίδι τᾷ κατ' ἄρουραν ἀηδόνι* Anth. Pal. 7. 190:

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[1] The *Muse*, called an ἀηδών in Anth. Pal. App. 338, ἀηδόνα τὴν μελίγηρυν, is called ἁ λίγεια Σειρήν by Alcman, Bergk 820 (7). So too the *Sirens* are called ἀηδόνες by Lycophron 653.

and *σι-σίλ-αρο-ς* a reduplicated form from (†*σι-σϝιρ-αρο-ς*) will be the '*whirring*' partridge.

I will now endeavour to shew the connexion between the meaning 'bird' or 'singing-bird' which we have found in *σειρήν*, and the *Σειρῆνες* of mythology.

First the Sirens are usually represented with *bird-like* forms. They appear in ancient delineations as *winged* creatures with *birds' wings* or *birds' legs*, or as *birds with human heads*: sometimes they are represented as flying upwards (Muller Ancient Art § 393). So too in the poets they appear as *πτεροφόροι*, Eur. Hel. 167, or as *bird-footed* Anax. Neott. 1. 21. Suidas, s.v. *ἄπτερα*, mentions that they were deprived of their wings after their contest with the Muses[1] (v. infr.). In the Vita Sophoclis we read *φασὶ δ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ μνήματι· σειρῆνα ἐπέστησαν· οἱ δὲ χελιδόνα χαλκῆν*, where the MSS. reading has been altered to *κηληδόνα* without sufficient cause. It is very doubtful whether the *κηληδόνες* had a distinct personality; they may have been only another name for the Sirens. The passage in Pindar on which, as explained by the Grammarians, their existence as mythical songstresses depends, is Fr. 25 *χρύσειαι δ' ἐξ ὑπερῴου ἄειδον κηληδόνες*: and of itself plainly proves nothing. Stephanus (Thesaurus s.v.) takes them to be figures of women chanting charms. On their supposed representation in art Muller § 393 says "The *Keledones* of the Locrian vase rest on a false reading: at Delphi they were *birds*: cf. Amalth. 1. 3. 122." This is surely not enough evidence to alter conjecturally a passage where the MS. reading gives an adequate sense. And such *χελιδόνα* gives: for, if *birds* were fitted to be symbols of death (see below), the *swallow*, *the* migratory bird of the Greeks, was peculiarly fitted to be so.

Secondly, the appearance of the Sirens on tombs, *e.g.* on Erinna's—see her epitaph beginning *στᾶλαι καὶ Σειρῆνες ἐμαὶ*

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[1] It is true that late writers, e.g. Ovid Met. 5. 555 and others, represent them as having wings bestowed on them, not taken away, and give stories to account for this. But this is probably due to a misconception of Homer's account, which was not unnaturally supposed to represent them as maidens without wings, and to a harmonistic attempt to reconcile these supposed wingless Sirens with the winged Sirens of Art.

καὶ πένθιμε κρωσσέ Bergk 927, on Sophocles' (Vita Soph. l.c.) and on Hephaestion's, Diod. Sic. 17. 115, gives another indication. Death, or departure from life, is variously symbolized on ancient monuments. A great many indicate the journey to the nether world by the *horse's head* (Muller § 431). The same idea appears in the *wings* of *Θάνατος* and in the *winged* figures which represent the *ψυχαί* or *εἴδωλα* when parted from the body, Muller (§ 397. 1 sqq.). These souls are even represented by birds: Muller mentions one tomb where the figure appears, like a Siren, as a *bird with a human head.* There could hardly be a more appropriate sign for the mysterious vanishing of life than 'the way of the eagle in the air' Prov. 30. 19: or a more significant symbol for the departed soul than the bird that has soared into the sky. Compare Eur. Med. 440, *οὐδ' ἔτ' αἰδὼς Ἑλλάδι τᾷ μεγάλᾳ μένει αἰθερία δ' ἀνέπτα*: and especially Eur. Hec. 69 *καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνα μὲν θανόντ' ἀνέπτατο*, where Madvig's emendation *ἀνόνητ'*, pace viri tanti dixerim, turns poetry into prose.

In the third place the legend of the Sirens' contest with the Muses affords another indication. It may be compared with another contest of the Muses, that with the daughters of Pierus (Ov. Met. 5. 302 &c.), when the vanquished were changed into birds. The contrast is curious: the Pierides, mythical maidens, are punished by transformation into birds; the Sirens, mythical birds already, by loss of their wings. Another rival of the Sirens is Orpheus, the first poet-singer of Greece. When the Argonauts passed their island, the Sirens sang in vain: for Orpheus surpassed them and broke their spell, and the Sirens threw themselves into the sea, and were transformed into rocks; Strabo v. p. 222, &c. Compare the death of the nightingale in her contest with the poet, which I believe is an old Teutonic fable. These legends seem to go back to the earliest discovery of the arts. Man in the first delight of an invention compares it with the analogues in nature which perhaps have suggested it, and awards to himself in the person of its fabulous discoverer or patron deity the palm of superiority. Thus the birds have to yield to the bards, the spider (Ἀράχνη) to the spinner (Παλλάς).

Finally, although the account of the Sirens in Homer has assumed almost entirely the shape of a pure myth, there are in it one or two slight traces of its origin in fact. One is the circumstance that the Sirens' *appearance* is not described. Ulysses and his crew evidently did not see, but only heard them. Like birds in a wood, they were to the passing mariner 'vox et praeterea nihil.' Again the mention of the *dead calm* is significant. Before coming to the island, says Ulysses, Od. 12. 165 τόφρα δὲ καρπαλίμως ἐξίκετο νηῦς εὐεργὴς νῆσον Σειρήνοιιν· ἔπειγε γὰρ οὖρος ἀπήμων: but when they reached it, αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο ἠδὲ γαλήνη ἔπλετο νηνεμίη· κοίμησε δὲ κύματα δαίμων. The song of the birds—were they not nightingales? ἀδινάων the epithet applied to them in Od. 23. 326 might well be paraphrased by Tennyson's "hurries and precipitates With fast thick warble its delicious notes[1]"—would not be heard in rough weather nor noticed in a rapid passage.

Are we then to suppose that this beautiful myth arose from the concurrence of two circumstances on an actual voyage—the singing of birds in the woods of a desert island and strong currents setting towards its shore and compelling sailors to lean to their oars (προπεσόντες ἐρέσσειν v. 194) if they would escape the shipwreck of their predecessors?

J. P. POSTGATE.

Note. After writing the above (in July, 1877) I met with a passage from the *Amalthea* which I transcribe below. I have not been able to refer to *Ferhengi Schuuri's* book. "So sind die Sirenen welche zum Theile gefiedert waren (und auch die

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[1] Unless indeed it refers to their numbers and points out that the wood was 'vocal' with innumerable birds. In this case it will be a trace of the original meaning of the story, and the use will be the same as in ἀδινάων μελισσάων. The dual Σειρήνοιιν, as is clear from a comparison of the different passages where it occurs, is used, as in other cases, interchangeably with the plural. Had Homer meant that there were only two Sirens, he would have said so expressly and not have left it to be gathered from the use of a number which was not limited in the Epic language to a dual sense; and still less would he have destroyed all traces of the indication by changing from this number to the plural.

griechischen Musen tragen Federn auf dem Haupte wie die ägyptischen auf den Mumiengemälden) ursprünglich *nichts als der africanische Vogel Sirenas* welcher nach der im Ferhengi Schuuri (II. Bd. Bl. 90) überlieferten Sage durch die Löcher seines Schnabels wohllautende Töne flötet zu deren Hervorbringung musikalische Instrumente erfunden wurden."

I have since also found the derivation of *σειρήν* in *A. Vaniček's* Etymological Dictionary. I am glad to be able to quote these independent confirmations of the explanation.

ON A CHORUS OF THE CHOEPHOROE

935—972 (Dindorf)[1], 921—959 (Paley),

with remarks upon the verb *τοπάζω* and its cognates.

THIS song of triumph is sung by handmaidens of the house of Agamemnon immediately after the double murder of Ægisthus and Klytaemnestra. In Professor Paley's latest edition[2] it stands as follows:—

ἔμολε μὲν δίκα Πριαμίδαις χρόνῳ *στρ. α′.*
βαρύδικος ποινά·
ἔμολε δ᾽ εἰς δόμον τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης.
ἔλαχε δ᾽ εἰς τὸ πᾶν
ὁ Πυθοχρήστας φυγὰς
θεόθεν εὖ φραδαῖσιν ὡρμημένος.
ἐπολολύξατ, ὦ, δεσποσύνων δόμων *στρ. β′.*
ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς
ὑπαὶ δυοῖν μιαστοροῖν
δυσοίμου τύχας.
ἔμολε δ᾽ ᾧ μέλει κρυπταδίου μάχας *ἀντ. α′.*
δολιόφρων ποινά.
ἔθιγε δ᾽ ἐν μάχᾳ χερὸς ἐτητύμως
Διὸς κόρα,—Δίκαν δέ νιν
προσαγορεύομεν
βροτοὶ τυχόντες καλῶς,—
ὀλέθριον πνέουσ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐχθροῖς κότον·

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[1] These numbers are used throughout.

[2] Written in August 1879.

τάνπερ ὁ Λοξίας, ὁ Παρνασσίας *στρ. γ′.*
μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς ἐπορθιά-
955 *ζων ἀδόλως δολίαν*
βλαπτομέναν χρονισθεῖσαν ἐποίχεται.
κρατεῖται δέ πως τὸ θεῖον τὸ μὴ
ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς·
960 *ἄξιον δ' οὐρανοῦχον ἀρχὰν σέβειν.*
πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν.
μέγα τ' ἀφῃρέθην ψάλιον οἰκετῶν. *ἀντ. β′.*
ἄνα γε μὰν δόμοι· πολὺν ἄγαν χρόνον
χαμαιπετεῖς ἐκεῖσθ' ἀεὶ

* * * *

965 *τάχα δὲ παντελὴς χρόνος ἀμείψεται* *ἀντ. γ′.*
πρόθυρα δωμάτων, ὅταν ἀφ' ἑστίας
πᾶν ἐλάσῃ μύσος
καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις·
τύχαι δ' εὐπροσωπόκοιται τὸ πᾶν
970 *ἰδεῖν πρευμενεῖς*
μετοίκοις δόμων πεσοῦνται πάλιν.
πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν.

It has long been seen that the first difficulty here lies in determining the strophic distribution. 935—941 answer to 946—952. The counterpart, therefore, to 942—945 must be found, as well as a complete strophe and antistrophe, somewhere after 952. In the editions before Hermann all beyond this line is chaos, but the first attempt to arrange it shewed that there were not verses enough to satisfy this metrical requirement, and subsequent editors have accordingly marked a lacuna. The uncorrected reading of 953—959 is this (see Hermann *ad loc.*)—

τάπερ ὁ Λοξίας ὁ Παρνάσσιος
μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς ἐπ' ὄχθει
ἄξεν ἀδόλως δολίας
βλαπτομέναν ἐν χρόνοις
θεῖσαν ἐποίχεται
κρατεῖται πῶς τὸ θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ
ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς.

There is a variant δολίαν in 954. Hermann supposes the lacuna to begin in the middle of 954, and to cover something over six lines. He and all the editors treat ἐπ' ὄχθει as spurious, and most follow him as to placing the lacuna. But the passage is clearly continuous. Professor Paley gives the general sense—Apollo has sent Vengeance to the house of Agamemnon —and substitutes, as we see, ἐπορθιάζων[1] for ἐπ' ὄχθει ἄξεν. I believe however that ἐπ' ὄχθει ἄξεν has lost nothing but an iota subscript; the real error, a very slight one, is elsewhere. It is not the god or the land, but the mountain and its *great rock-cave*, which are called by the epithet Παρνάσιος, as Παρνάσιος κορυφή Eur. Iph. T. 1244, Ion 86, Παρνασία κλιτὺς Soph. Ant. 1144, Parnasia rupes Verg. Ecl. 6. 29, Παρνάσιος μυχὸς Pind. Pyth. 10. 8. Here the inflexion has been altered with the usual carelessness to suit Λοξίας the nearer word, leaving ἔχων without the article which it requires[2]. The original then had

τάνπερ ὁ Λοξίας ὁ Παρνασίῳ
μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς ἐπ' ὄχθῳ
ᾆξ' ἀδόλως δολίαν,

whom Loxias, who dwells in the great rock-cave on Parnassus' hill, sent with her righteous craft.

The last syllable of ὄχθῳ replaces the final iambus of the dochmiac foot—but of the metre more presently; ᾆξε is of course transitive, *sped;* the slip ᾆξεν made by persons ignorant of the versification needs no explanation. But if ᾆξε be sound, ἐποίχεται is not, there being no room in the sentence for another verb; and this inference is, in fact, a strong confirmation. ἐποίχεσθαι is a Homeric compound not elsewhere found in tragedy. In Homer it has two senses:

(1) *to go after, pursue* as in Il. 5. 330,

ὁ δὲ Κύπριν ἐπῴχετο νηλέϊ χαλκῷ,

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[1] I am not quite sure that, even if nothing nearer to the MS. could be found, the construction ἐπορθιάζει Δίκην, *he summons Vengeance*, could be justified. Ἐπορθιάζειν is *to raise the voice high* (ὄρθιος), so that ἐπορθιάζειν Δίκην seems more harsh than βοᾷ Λοιγὸν even.

[2] Professor Paley's Παρνασσίας is in this respect equally satisfactory, but as Παρνάσιος demands the substantive ὄχθος, so ὄχθῳ cannot stand without the epithet.

(2) *to go one after the other, go frequently* as in Il. 1. 383,

> τὰ δ' ἐπῴχετο κῆλα θεοῖο
> πάντη ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρύν.

Neither of these senses is appropriate here; nor indeed did Apollo go as the avenger, or go for the avenger, or, in short, *go* at all, but sent Orestes. On the other hand the passive βλαπτομέναν demands the mention of some agency by which Vengeance was *checked.* Now Hermann's χρονισθεῖσαν is clearly right in the word, but clearly not right in the case, for who would join βλαπτομέναν χρονισθεῖσαν without a copula? The only other case possible is χρονισθεῖσιν, and this points to a hidden dative. We are now in a position to restore the line with some probability thus—

> βλαπτομέναν χρονισθεῖσιν ἐπ' οἰκέταις,

that is, *though she has been held in check because the household were laggards.* Compare for the construction Herodotus 4. 154 ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα, *he married again because he had an orphan daughter,* and the like. The handmaidens hint that if Agamemnon's men had had any spirit, they would have avenged him without waiting for assistance, and this in turn explains the next two lines, to be read as Professor Paley gives them (except that τε not δὲ is more likely to have been lost being a repetition of the last syllable of κρατεῖται) and translated thus—*and God, with reverence be it said, is withheld from aiding cowards.*

Since then the lacuna is not at line 954, where is it? Professor Paley puts it at 964, but makes no remark. M. Weil thinks there are two lacunæ. It will be best to follow the ode to the end, and see if there is any break.

960—962 offer no difficulty; ἀξίον δ' is the MS. reading but can hardly be right; Hermann ἄξια δ'; others ἄξιον, which I prefer; the slip ἀφηρέθην for ἀφηρέθη, through a doubling of the η, was long ago corrected; οἰκετῶν for the MS. οἴκων can be justified only by supposed metrical necessity and will therefore be rejected by those who believe what I have to say on this subject.

From this point to the end the connection of thought has never been traced, and Conington, for one, candidly leaves the whole in a chain of doubts. Under these circumstances, discretion would command me to do the same, but that I think the track has been missed for want not of erudition but of a single hint from the poet himself, which accident might have discovered to any one. The first thing to observe is the sudden change of time from the past (*ᾆξε...ἀφῃρέθη*) to the future (*ἀμείψεται... πεσοῦνται*), emphasized by the strong disjunctive *γε μήν*. A coming deliverance is expected, and in order to achieve it the house or, dropping the figure, the household of Agamemnon are called upon to shake off their lethargy. What is this deliverance? Ægisthus and Klytaemnestra are dead already, and are we to suppose that the violent language of 968 refers merely to the removal of the bodies and the blood-stains? To enter into this we must look back to the closing scene of the *Agamemnon*, where, upon the death of his enemy, Ægisthus comes to take possession. He brought with him a strong guard of *φίλοι λοχῖται* (Ag. 1650), by whose help, paid with his ill-gotten wealth (Ag. 1638), he promised to keep a tight hand upon disaffection (Ag. 1623, 1640 etc.). It was with difficulty that Klytaemnestra prevented an outbreak on the spot, and in Cho. 768 foll. we are let know that the situation has not improved in the interval. The tight hand is now removed, *μέγα ψάλιον ἀφῃρέθη*, and the servants anticipate with bitter glee the imminent expulsion of these alien and detested mercenaries, these *μέτοικοι δόμων*, as they call them in Cho. 971.

Now to translate— 963 *But up, Oh house, too long did ye still grovel.* 965—968 "The repetition in *ἐλάσῃ...ἐλατηρίοις*," says Professor Paley, "is remarkable." It is indeed; and it is the least remarkable thing in these lines, which have the one merit of being transparent nonsense. *But soon the perfect time* (or *all the time*) *will pass* (that is, *enter* or *leave*) *the house-portal, when it shall have chased all pollution from the hearth with poison-chasing purges.* As a slight improvement *παντελὴς χρόνος* is commonly rendered *all-accomplishing time*, against which something might be said, were it necessary. But suppose we concede this, and also concede, as we may do without the apocryphal assurance of Eum. 286, that Time is a purifying agent. Still what is the sense of saying that Time will *soon* enter the house, or *soon* leave it? By what figure of rhetoric does the house drive the filth from the hearth? Or if it is Time that drives it away, a thing in itself more practicable, then, worse and worse, how is Time to enter the house, or why must he go out, after doing so[1]? These last absurdities cannot, that I see, be otherwise removed, than by omitting altogether the clause *ὅταν...μύσος*[2] and taking the instrumental dative *καθαρμοῖσιν* with the neuter verb *ἀμείψεται*, a common construction, as in Eur. Phœn. 1043 *ἔβα Πυθίαις ἀποστολαῖσιν* Οἰδίπους. We shall presently see how strongly this omission is confirmed by the strophic distribution. I suppose the omitted words to have been inserted at some early date as an explanation of *παντελὴς χρόνος the complete time*, which certainly requires it. The author probably meant to express *when Time* shall *drive away, etc.*, and perhaps even wrote *ὅταν ἐλάσει* which the MS. gives as a variant, a solecism not impossible in a Hellenistic imitator. But enough of him and his work. Out of what remains a sense can perhaps be extracted—*but soon all that time* (that is, the time of slavery just mentioned) *will leave the house-portal, driven by poison-chasing purges.* This is not grossly absurd, but I cannot say I am content with it. To speak of a past period (note the tense of *ἐκεῖσθε*) as soon about to depart is a confusion of thought which it will be hard to prove upon Æschylus, and there is another objection to such a personification of *χρόνος*, an objection of a kind which, remote as we are from the thought and feeling of the ancient Greeks, we are seldom able to use in the criticism of their literature. No generation of writers or readers is indifferent in the selection of metaphors, but has arbitrary habits and tastes about them, such as only contemporaries can understand. Now we happen to know that to clothe Time with a bodily form, though common enough in modern literature, did not please the taste of the Μαραθωνόμαχοι, for the gentle phrase χρόνου πόδα, admitted by Euripides (Bacch. 889), is indicated by Aristophanes (Ran. 100) as one of the hazardous innovations (παρακεκινδυνευμένα) of the modern school. Where would this ridicule have fallen if Æschylus himself in his most famous work had made Time walk in and out of the front-door as naturally as possible? Besides, a period however unpleasant is too immaterial a mark for the savage abuse of these lines. I have called the language of 968 violent; and it is so, even to the verge of poetic decorum. καθαρμοὶ ἀτᾶν[1] ἐλατήριοι is as the Scholiast says a periphrasis for purging medicine, ἄτη meaning here a thing pernicious to the body, as for instance in Soph. Trach. 1103,

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[1] M. Weil's *ἐλάθῃ* disguises rather than removes these difficulties, and leaves others untouched.

[2] It is not even metrical, for the order of the words in the MSS. is *πᾶν μύσος ἐλάσῃ*. What should have caused the transposition?

> νῦν δ᾽ ὧδ᾽ ἄναρθρος καὶ κατερρακωμένος
> τυφλῆς ὑπ᾽ ἄτης ἐκπεπόρθημαι τάλας.

I am dismembered and rent in pieces, and a secret poison hath miserably sapped my strength. The subject of ἀμείψεται, therefore, should be some thing purgeable. I am thus led to believe that χρόνος is a corruption, probably a very old corruption, of a lost word χράνος *filth*, from the same stem as χραίνω (χραν-yω) to *pollute*. This is by no means the groundless guess that it may appear at first sight. Those who know what MSS. are will agree that παντελὲς χράνος, if it were the original reading, would in such a MS. as that of the *Choephoroe* inevitably appear as παντελὴς χρόνος, χρόνος being extremely familiar, χράνος in any case rare. In fact he who first expelled χράνος probably flattered himself on his ignorant expurgation. The question is really this, whether if the MS. had given χράνος we should have supposed it corrupt, or should have added it without demur to the scores of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα which every Greek poet contains. To put the same thing differently, it is a question of linguistic probability. Now γάνος from γαν- in γάνυμαι and κράνος from κραν- in κράνιον shew that χράνος is neither impossible nor repugnant to Attic usage. But we can come nearer than this. Pollux (2. 97) tells us that the comedians, meaning of course the Attic comedians, used χάνος, a word like χράνος not apparently to be found in any extant author, as a synonym of *χάσμα the open mouth:* and it is worth notice that Hesychius and the other lexicographers omit *χάνος* as well as *χράνος*. The chance statement of Pollux has alone preserved it[1]. Now *χράνος* is to *χραίνω* precisely as *χάνος* to *χαίνω*, and we learn from this not only that *χράνος* is possible but to what sort of language it would belong, and why it should be rare. These forms had probably a popular and slightly vulgar smack not fit for literature, except in special cases. Now such a flavour of coarseness just suits the railing of triumphant menials against their fellows hired to oppress them, and so do the emphatic *παντελὲς* and *πρόθυρα*. I should read then—

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[1] MS. ἄταν, but the correction, Stanley's, is certain.

> τάχα δὲ παντελὲς χράνος ἀμείψεται
> πρόθυρα δωμάτων
> καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις,

but soon the filth (the foreign guard) *shall be sent, every scrap of it, through the outer door by poison-chasing purges*[2].

The same word *χράνος* should replace the same corruption in a grotesque fragment of Pindar (150 or in Donaldson's ed. ἐξ ἀδηλ. εἰδ. 47), describing in the words of an eye-witness the devouring of two oxen, bones and all, by Herakles.

> δοῖα βοῶν
> θέρμ' ἔδει ἀνθρακίαν στέψαντα πυρίπνοά τε
> σώματα· καὶ τοτ' ἐγὼ σαρκῶν τ' ἐνοπὰν
> εἶδον ἠδ' ὀστέων στεναγμὸν βαρύν·
> ἦν δὲ ἰδόντα διακρῖναι πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος.

"In the last line," says Donaldson, "I take *διακρῖναι ἐν καιρῷ* together 'There was plenty of time for a person looking on to discern the whole proceeding accurately.'" To say nothing of the sense, the proposed rendering of *ἐν καιρῷ* is wholly inadmissible, and the true rendering *opportunely* quite out of place. The whole context points to the mention of some other revolting incident of the meal, similar to the "crackling of the flesh" and the "craunching of the bones." I suggest—

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[1] That Pollux does not deceive us we may be convinced, if we require convincing, by the existence of the derivative *ἀχανής*. And though we have not yet found †*ἀχρανής*† as the equivalent of *ἄχραντος*, we do find *ἀχρᾱής*, which assumes a substantive †*χράος*†, related to *χράνος* as *χάος* to *χάνος*.

[2] The history of the MS. text is probably this. Upon *παντελὲς χράνος* there was an old gloss *πᾶν μύσος* written after the line. A later editor assuming *χράνος* to be corrupt, took the gloss for the remains of a lost verse explaining *παντελὴς χρόνος* and filled it up accordingly, borrowing his materials from the context.

ἦν δὲ ἴδοντα διακρῖναι πολλὸν ἐν κραίρᾳ χράνος

and my eye could discern the foul mass in the skull—as it was crushed. *κραίρα the head*, especially of a horned animal, is most familiar in the compound adjective *εὔκραιρος* (*βοῦς*); Hesychius gives us the word itself.

969—972; most of the difficulty of these lines is removed when it is seen who the *μέτοικοι* are. The metaphor is from dice (Schol.) which after appearing to have settled in a good throw fall over at the last and disappoint the thrower. *εὐπροσωπόκοιτος* means, I think, 'having a specious appearance of settlement' rather than 'lying so as to show a good face.' This fits better with the ordinary use of *εὐπρόσωπος*, with the dice-metaphor—for when dice once lie they do not fall over—and with its application, for *κοίτη* signifies not only *lie* but also *lodging, quarters for men*, and there seems to be a play upon this. The mercenaries promised themselves safe quarters in the usurper's palace. But how of 970? The MS. gives *τὸ πᾶν ἰδεῖν ἀκοῦσαι θρεομένοις*. *ἀκοῦσαι*, as Hermann saw, is a note upon *ἰδεῖν* purporting that if Æschylus said *visibly howling* he must have meant *audibly*, which is very true. However not even the MS. makes him say that, for *θρέομαι* is transitive and must govern *τὸ πᾶν*, with *ἰδεῖν* by way of explanation, *howling to see the whole thing*. All is now complete except *the whole thing*—and that wants but a tail. Cobet (Nov. Lect. p. 80) describes a favourite manner of writing *τρ* in one stroke, the *ρ* as an appendage to the *τ* (somewhat thus ?); this he says was often mistaken for *ξ*. It is also likely enough that the *ρ* was sometimes formed with an indistinct loop, or being below the line escaped notice, the result in either case being the loss of the letter[1]. Substitute *τροπὰν* for *τὸ πᾶν* and the soldiers may, with better effect, howl to see the *change.* *θρέομαι*, properly used of women under strong emotion, is here contemptuous. *And the aliens in the house shall see their chance, which promised good settlement, fall contrary, and howl to behold the turn.*

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[1] I do not mean to assert positively that this was the cause of this particular corruption, the frequency of which in the tragedians is independ-

It is an encouraging proof of the regularity of our MSS. even in their blunders that this corruption of *τρ* into *τ* occurs, to take only this one word *τροπή*, five times in Æschylus and twice at least in Euripides. One of these is in this same chorus 939: the MS. gives

> *ἔλακε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν*
> *ὁ Πυθοχρήστας*[1] *φυγὰς*
> *θέοθεν εὖ φραδαῖσιν ὡρμημένος.*

Comparing this strophe with the antistrophe we see that there is not merely the usual correspondence, but a sort of rhyme, obtained by repetitions of language. The *ἔμολε* of 935 and 937 is repeated in 946, the *ποινά* of 936 in 947. Now I hope to show that in 948 the true reading is not *ἔθιγε* but *ἔδικε*, and this raises to something like certainty the suspicion, reasonable enough in itself, that the meaningless *ἔλακε* is also a corruption of ΕΔΙΚΕ through an intermediate ΕΛΙΚΕ. Combining this with our correction of *τὸ πᾶν* we obtain both rhyme and reason—*the exile sent from Pytho has thrown* (*with the spear*) *unto victory* (*ἔδικε ἐς τροπὰν*), *having by the god's inspiration gotten a good start.* *τροπὴ* has the same sense as in the common *τροπὴ δορός*, the turning or rout of the enemy; in fact it is the familiarity of this phrase which justifies the poet's terseness, the thought in full being that, in this play of spear-throwing, Orestes has achieved a veritable defeat. Such metaphors from the national games are naturally common in Greek poetry, and readers of Pindar will not forget that the *φραδαὶ θεοῦ* were sought by athlete as well as exile.

Again in Prom. Vinc. 454 foll. the Titan is made to boast

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ently certain. Most of the errors in our copies of Æschylus are 'uncial,' but it is obvious that both 'uncial' and 'cursive' errors may occur in the same MS.

[1] An alteration of *πυθόχρηστος* either deliberate to suit the termination of *φυγάς*, or merely accidental. Would not *Πυθοχρήστης*, if it existed, describe the seer rather than the seeker?

that until he discovered to man the rising and setting of the stars,

> *ἦν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χείματος τέκμαρ*
> *οὔτ' ἀνθεμώδους ἦρος οὔτε καρπίμου*
> *θέρους βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ἄτερ γνώμης τὸ πᾶν*
> *ἔπρασσον.*

Why should ignorance of astronomy make men do *everything* (or rather indeed *the whole*) without judgment? *ἄτερ γνώμης τροπῶν without index of the seasons*[1] or *τροπαὶ ἡλίου*, they would certainly be. *ἔπρασσον* is intransitive, *they lived, managed.*

Again in Æsch. Supp. 594 we find *τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ οὔριος Ζεύς*, translated with desperate violence *Zeus, giver of the fair wind, who remedies all.* Literally then *the whole cure* or *all cure?* Or is *τὸ πᾶν* adverbial? But such an adverb belongs by the law of nature to verbs and adjectives not to substantives, least of all to a neuter substantive, and Zeus himself cannot remedy everything. It is the irregular *shift*, whether of gale or grammarian, which the deity, as *τροπᾶν μῆχαρ*, is sometimes able to *prevent.*

But again—*πικροῦ χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ*[2]. In Eum. 938 foll. the gracious powers thus describe the blessings they will confer upon the climate of Attica:

> *δενδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέοι βλάβα*
> *(τὰν ἐμὰν χάριν λέγω)*
> *φλογμός τ' ὀμματοστερὴς φυτῶν, τὸ μὴ περᾶν ὅρον τόπων.*

The last sentence is thus explained by Hermann and others following him. *And let there be no scorching heat to rob the green things of their buds and prevent them from passing the bound of their places,* that is from growing and spreading. Probably no one has been much pleased with this. What is the *place* of a plant, or the *bound* of its place? Here again *τροπῶν* or *τροπᾶν* will help us. *Let not the ill wind blow that checks the trees...neither be there scorching heat, beyond the bound of their*

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[1] That *γνώμη* like *γνώμων* could have this meaning we see from the fact that both words were applied to the "age-marks" or teeth of a horse. See L. and Sc. s. vv.

[2] Ag. 199.

seasons or proper times of change. The cold wind and the hot would come in their order, but the Eumenides promise to avert the *long* winter or the *long* drought from the orchard and vineyard. *τὸ μὴ περᾶν* thus depends, as by usage it should, not upon *ὀμματοστερῆς* but upon the verb, *μὴ πνέοι*, supplied from the previous clause[1].

So in Eur. Hipp. 1053 *περάν γε πόντου τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν* one of the best MSS. gives (teste Dindorf) *καὶ τόπων*, with *τερμόνων* only as a correction. As *τόπων* cannot possibly be a corruption of *τερμόνων*, I suspect that the original was *καὶ τροπῶν Ἀτλαντικῶν*, the "turning place" of the sun in the west, for which, after the loss of the *ρ* had made it unintelligible, *τερμόνων* was substituted from l. 3 of the same play[2].

Again in Eum. 52 the Pythian priestess, at a loss to explain the uncouth appearance of the Eumenides, contrasts them with the *Ἅρπυιαι* in these words—

> *εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας...*
> *δεῖπνον φερούσας· ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν*
> *αὗται, μέλαιναι δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι.*

The combination of *μέλαιναι βδελύκτροποι* without copula is, to say the least, unpleasant, and this, as we shall soon find, is by no means the only reason for thinking that something is wrong with *ἐς τὸ πᾶν*. For the present I will merely call attention to Thuc. 1. 6 *μετρίᾳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο*, which shows that Æschylus *may* have written

> *ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν*
> *αὗται, μέλαιναι δ' ἐς τρόπον βδελύκτροπον,*

but these are wingless, and swart after a loathsome fashion, that is, *of a swart and loathsome favour*, as again he says at 192 of the same play—

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[1] Wecklein (Studien zu Æsch. pp. 18, 19) has collected the Æschylean examples of *τὸ μή*, viz. Pr. 235 and 865, Ag. 1170 and 1589, Eum. 219, 691, 940, and Pers. 291. All of them follow the rule I mention except Eum. 940 as commonly read. Add Cho. 957.

[2] In Eur. Heracl. 108 the MSS. have *πρὸς τὸ πᾶν*; *προστροπὰν* is the correction of Canter.

ἀ̓ρ' ἀκούετε
οἵας ἑορτῆς ἔστ' ἀπόπτυστοι θεοῖς
στέργηθρ' ἔχουσαι; πᾶς δ' ὑφηγεῖται τρόπος
μορφῆς.

Less doubt, I think, need we feel in correcting Æsch. Supp. 692.

καρποτελῆ δέ τοι Ζεῦς ἐπικραινέτω
φέρματι γᾶν πανώρῳ,
πρόνομα δε βότα τὼς πολύγονα τελέθοι·
692 τὸ πᾶν τ' ἐκ δαιμόνων λάθοιεν.

For *λάθοιεν*, which is obviously wrong, the natural correction is that of Turnebus, *λάβοιεν*. Hermann, justly shocked at so large a prayer as "May your cattle obtain from good spirits the universe," proposed *θάλοιεν*, a bold change, and open to objections which he himself admits, the chief, that it leaves *τὸ πᾶν* pointless after all. But we may keep *λάβοιεν* and get a modest meaning too, if for *τὸ πᾶν* we restore *τροφὰν*,

and may they from kind powers find sustenance.

This indeed involves, in addition to the changes already illustrated, the further interchange of *π* and *φ*, but for that we shall have warrant later on. Meanwhile we may express a hope that in Supp. 50 Æschylus wrote *ἐν ποιονόμοις ματρὸς ἀρχαίας τροφαῖς*, *in the grassy pastures of our ancient mother* (the Io-cow), and not as the MS. gives it *ποινόμοις τόποις*, *the grassy places;* for the quasi-local sense of *τροφαὶ* cp. Eur. Ion 52 *ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφάς*.

ΤΟΠΟΣ, ΤΟΠΗ (?), and ΤΟΠΑΩ.

It will probably be admitted that if *τροπὰν* once became *τοπὰν*, this in turn would naturally pass into *τὸ πᾶν*. But it happens that the occurrence of this second descent can be positively proved, and the proof is worth pursuing for some discoveries which we shall make in the course of it.

Eustathius, at page 543 of the commentary on the Iliad, gives an explanation of the word *μάτη* or *μάτα error*, and its two synonymous derivatives *ματάω* and *ματάζω*. Such duplicate forms, which are numerous, are now supposed to be phonetic varieties of the same original form in *-αγωμι* (Curtius, Gr. Et. III. § III. B 4 *a*, Vol. II. p. 264, Eng. trans.). He then continues—

> *ἴστεον δὲ ὅτι ὥσπερ ματῶ ματάζω καθὰ ἐρρέθη, οὕτω σὺν ἄλλοις καὶ τοπῶ τοπάζω, ἠγοῦν τόπους τινὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς νοημάτων ἔχω εἰς τὸ ὑπονοεῖν τόδε τι. ἡ δὲ κοινὴ γλῶσσα ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου τόπου τοῦ φύσει περιεκτικοῦ τοπάζειν λέγει ὃ καὶ κοιτάζειν. τοπάζει γοῦν τις θήρια εἰς* τὸ κυνηγηθῆναι.*

I have copied the passage without alteration. We learn from it these facts; first that in classical Greek there was a verb *τοπᾶν to conjecture*, as if from *τόπος*, *a conjecture*, or *divination*, which the author carefully distinguishes from "the other *τόπος*, *space*, or that in which things are contained;" secondly, that of this *τόπος* we may expect to find a second form *τοπὴ* or *τοπὰ* (just as we have *φονὰ* beside *φόνος*, etc.), for if not, what becomes of the analogy with *μάτα ματῶ ματάζω*?; also, that all these words had disappeared from the literary language of the Byzantine empire, and this so completely that *τοπάζω*, like *κοιτάζω* (legend. *ὡς καὶ κοιτ.*) had come in spite of its etymology to be used in the sense of *to place*, according to the gloss of Hesychius *τοπάζειν ἱδρύειν*, which however seems to have been inverted and misplaced, as it was not the practice of the lexicographers to interpret recent words by classical but vice versa; and further, that one *special* meaning of *τοπᾶν τοπάζειν* was to divine or make out *an etymology*, to interpret words and names. The last sentence seems sound though elliptical, but should be written thus, *τοπάζει γοῦν τις Θήρια—εἰς τὸ κυνηγηθῆναι*[1], *this, for example, is a τόπος, "The name Θήρια* [*points*]

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[1] I suppose these last four words to be a verbal citation from a collection of glosses or etymological dictionary, *Θήρια* being the lemma. We must supply some such verb as *τείνει* (see the passage cited from Plat. Laws XII.). It will be seen from the sequel that such collections existed. It would simplify the construction to substitute *ἐκ τοῦ*, but any way the meaning is clear.

to the fact that the things so called are hunted (*θηρᾶται*)." Now the words *τόπος* (conjecture) *τοπή* and *τοπάω* are as little known in our dictionaries as in the schools of Constantinople, but we can study there the use of *τοπάζειν*, and as far as it goes it is consistent with the statement of Eustathius. A few examples will do for the present; Plat. Gorg. 489 C. *καὶ αὐτὸς πάλαι τοπάζω τοιοῦτόν τι σε λέγειν τὸ κρεῖττον*, and again Laws XII. 962 C. ΑΘ. *ἐν τίνι ποτε τῶν τῆς πόλεως μερῶν...ἔστι τοιοῦτον φυλακτήριον; ἔχομεν φράζειν;* ΚΛ. *οὐ δῆτα σαφῶς γε· εἰ δ' οὖν τοπάζειν δεῖ, δοκεῖ μοι τείνειν ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰς τὸν ξύλλογον κ.τ.λ.*, that is, "your emphasis" (given by the particle *ποτε*) "on the words *what part*, points to the necessity of combining the parts by means of a meeting, etc."

I propose now to show that these old words, *τόπος*, *τοπὰ*, *τοπάω*, not only existed, as Eustathius says, but were as common, to imitate the caution of Shakespeare's Verges, "as any word living, that is an old word, and no commoner than they." They have succumbed in the struggle for existence through twenty centuries of copying printing and misunderstanding. And no wonder, for the stern law of this palæographic competition is the survival of the most numerous tribe, which prey upon the more rare and absorb them. Our fossil species was already doomed to perish by the formidable encroachments of *τόπος* (space) and *τὸ πᾶν*, but as if this was not enough, the confusion of *τ* and *τρ* exposed it to fresh danger from the imitation of *τρόπος* and *τροπή*. With all this it is rather surprising that a single specimen has succeeded in maintaining itself, and even that is but half alive. We will rescue it first and then dig up the rest.

πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη
ἔνδον ἐντι φαρέτρας
φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν· ἐς δὲ τοπὰν ἑρμηνέων
χατίζει. σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυᾷ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
παγγλωσσίᾳ, κόρακες ὥς, ἄκραντα γαρύετον
88 *Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.*
ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῷ τόξον, ἄγε θυμέ, τίνα βάλλομεν
ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὖτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας ὀϊστοὺς ἱέντες; ἐπί τοι

’Ακράγαντι τανύσαις·
αὐδάσομαι ἐνόρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόῳ
τεκεῖν μή τιν’ ἑκατόν γε ἐτέων πόλιν φίλοις ἄνδρα μᾶλλον
εὐεργέταν πραπίσιν ἀφθονέστερόν τε χέρα
Θήρωνος. ἀλλ’ αἶνον ἔπεβα κόρος
οὐ δίκᾳ συναντόμενος, ἀλλὰ μάργων ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν,
τὸ λαλαγῆσαι θέλων κρύφον †τε θέμεν† ἐσλῶν καλοῖς
ἔργοις. ἐπεὶ ψάμμος ἀριθμὸν περιπέφευγεν·
ἐκεῖνος ὅσα χάρματ’ ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν
τίς ἂν φράσαι δύναιτο.

Pind. Ol. II. 83—100.

My quiverful of words—so Pindar is usually understood—*have meaning for the shrewd, but for the generality they need interpreters.* But for the generality—*τοῖς πολλοῖς*—the *a* of *τὸ πᾶν* is long, nor has any shrewdness yet comprehended this unique license in the quantity of an every-day word[1]. Now in the Dorian Greek of Sicily the accusative singular and plural of nouns in *-a* retained, as every one knows, the original short vowel. If therefore we could trace this *τοπὰν* to a Doric source, here is the accusative of *τοπή* actually before our eyes[2]. At first sight however there is a difficulty. *τοπή*, if it meant anything, meant the explanation of words. How then could Pindar say that his words though intelligible to the shrewd nevertheless needed interpreters *for the purpose of τοπή*? He might say this, if by *τοπή* he meant a particular kind of explanation, technically so called, which if required could only be given by the professional interpreter, but in his view was not required at all. Let us look a little further. What is *παγγλωσσία*? It ought to be the sum of all *γλῶσσαι*, and following the hint supplied by *τοπή* we remember that *γλῶσσαι* in the terminology of grammarians meant *obscure words*, words not in common use and needing exposition. In this sense *γλῶσσα* is used by Aristotle, and it must be older than Aristotle, for he gives no definition. We shall find reason for thinking it much older. *παγγλωσσία* then would be the science of such words and their interpretations. And why are the professors of this species of learning described as two in number (*γαρύετον*) and resembling crows? My answer is that *κόρακες* is itself an *ὀνόματος τοπή*, a play upon the suggestiveness of a name. This ode celebrates the praises of the Sicilian despot Thero, and one of the chief literary persons in Sicily contemporary with Pindar was Korax of Syracuse, one of the founders of 'rhetoric,' who is so constantly mentioned in company with his collaborator Tisias that the two form a literary pair, like Beaumont and Fletcher. It is easy to believe that even before Pindar's visit to Sicily there was some jealousy between him and the native Sicilian scholars, against whom he competed for patronage. Such slight evidence as we have that Korax laid special stress on the interpretation of words I shall adduce hereafter, but it is not wanted, as the subject must have fallen within his general functions as a *γραμματικὸς* or man of letters, which are here in view, rather than that separate science of proof with which his name and fame were afterwards connected.

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[1] In spite of the familiarity of this famous epigram, I am confident that any scholar will upon reflection pronounce the traditional interpretation of it quite indefensible.

[2] If this abbreviation be thought improbable, we have the form *τόπον*. Having mentioned this ambiguity once for all, I do not repeat both forms every time the word is cited. I hope to adduce one passage in which *τοπή* only is admissible.

I infer then from this passage that Korax, with a coadjutor not named[1], had published some work, doubtless fanciful enough, upon etymology. To Pindar such a tract, coming from a scholar patronized by Hiero, might well be an object of interest, amusement, and not very friendly criticism. It is no matter of conjecture, as will hereafter abundantly appear, that in Pindar's time the Greek mind was strongly fascinated by verbal conjuring, both solemn and sportive. But it is one thing to relish such ingredients in poetry, as the half play and half earnest of a warm imagination, and quite another thing to appreciate fairly a mess of the same substance in prose, cold, crude, and quasi-scientific. The very same feelings which commended the one would make the other repulsive, and so it seems to have been with Pindar. The instinct of the artist, he says, of the φυᾷ σοφὸς, is a better guide to the sense of language than 'the noisy babel of the lexicographers,' who *like Crows give but an uncertain sound compared with the inspired bird of Zeus*, both crows and eagles being birds of omen and significant by their voice (γῆρυς). In παγγλωσσία there seems to be a playful equivocation. (Viewed in this light the passage seems to require a slight further correction: to complete the antithesis εἰδὼς φυᾷ should be contrasted with μαθόντες παγγλωσσίᾳ; but if so the order of the words compels us to read λάβρῳ. This is hardly to be called an alteration, and if it were greater it would be defensible. Corruption of the inflections of adjectives seems to be a regular feature of all Greek MSS., especially of poets, and is the natural result of the freedom of the language in ordering the words; the copyists, imperfectly following the sense, accommodated the epithet to the noun preceding, or nearest, or otherwise most prominent. A dozen instances might be produced from a single tragedy; two (πυθοχρήστας and Παρνάσσιος) we have seen already[1]).

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[1] The name cannot of course be supplied with certainty. But in a subsequent paper I propose to shew—

(1) That Tisias was a collaborator with Korax in his only work hitherto known, the first Τέχνη or Manual of Rhetoric.

(2) That Tisias may have been the collaborator in the work to which Pindar alludes, the received account of his later life (which would make the hypothesis chronologically impossible) being mistaken. So far as Korax is concerned there are no chronological difficulties.

Assuming then that the allusion is correctly explained, we may fairly infer what Eustathius also implies, that τοπὴ was a term used by the early etymologists. But it is not to be supposed that they invented it. How then was it used before them? A careful examination of the rest of this passage may shew us, for the continuation of the metaphor, πολλά μοι βέλη —ἔπεχε νῦν τόξον, proves that there is no break in thought between 88 and 89. But it is less easy to trace the connection— "I need no τοπὴ from the grammarians, my poet's wit is sufficient; come then let me try—I say that no city has for a hundred years given birth to a man more liberal and unselfish than Thero." Is this last statement then a τοπή? Yes, it is, not a τοπὴ ὀνόματος but a τοπὴ φύσεως, for this also was a term in use. In the *Theaetetus* of Plato Socrates is introduced to the young student after whom the dialogue is named by his teacher, one Theodorus of Kyrene, who pronounces a panegyric upon his aptitude and quickness. After some metaphysical discussion Theaetetus declares himself much interested but utterly bewildered, whereupon Socrates remarks (p. 155 D) *Θεόδωρος γὰρ, ὦ φίλε, φαίνεται οὐ κακῶς τοπάζειν περὶ τῆς φύσεώς σου. μάλα γαρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τὸ θαυμάζειν ...καὶ ἔοικεν ὁ τὴν* Ἶριν *Θαύμαντος ἔκγονον φήσας οὐ κακῶς γενεαλογεῖν, κ.τ.λ.* Here is *τοπάζειν φύσιν* 'to divine a person's character or natural bent.' Now let us look at Aristoph. Vesp. 73, the well-known passage in which the audience are invited with the words *ἐπεὶ τοπάζετε* to conjecture the characteristic weakness of the old dicast. He is finally declared to be *φιληλιάστης*, and we shall notice that the *φιλόκυβος*, *φιλοπότης*, etc. of that passage have their parallel in the *φιλόσοφος* of the *Theaetetus*, a strong indication that we are in the traces of some constant and familiar phraseology. Notice too that the Theodorus to whom this *τοπή* of character is attributed was a teacher among other things of 'literature and language' (*μουσικὸς καὶ ὅσα παιδείας ἔχεται* 145 A) including, as in the case of Korax, the grammatical *τοπή* or *τόπος*; and, considering Plato's turn for refining upon names, and the reference here to the significant name of Thaumas, we may suspect that there floated before him some vague notion at least of a similar significance in *Θεαίτητος ὁ Εὐφρονίου* (144 C), which he would gladly have derived from *θεάομαι* if the plain truth had not been too strong for him. A metaphor from the same practice of character-telling is elaborately worked out in the *Laws* pp. 691, 692, so elaborately indeed that it is impossible to exhibit it fully within reasonable limits of quotation. It occurs at the conclusion of the historical review, from which Plato infers the danger of over-concentration in government and the advantage of a mixed constitution with divided powers, such as that of Sparta. This process he describes, not without sarcasm upon the pretences of the seers, as a divination of the political character (*φύσις*) of man by a safe prophecy after the event. The key-passages are these: 691 B, *εἶεν· τί δὴ τὸν νομοθέτην ἔδει τότε τιθέντα εὐλαβηθῆναι τούτου περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῆς γενέσεως; νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν*

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[1] I learn that the suggestion of λάβρῳ has been already made.

σοφὸν γνῶναι τοῦτο...εἰ δὲ προιδεῖν ἦν τότε, σοφώτερος ἂν ἦν ἡμῶν ὁ προιδὼν (these words are almost a paraphrase of a passage of Æschylus to be hereafter examined): ibid. C, *οὐκ ἔστι θνητῆς ψυχῆς φύσις ἥτις ποτε δυνήσεται τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχὴν φέρειν*: ibid. D, *ὡς οὖν δὴ τότε γενόμενον νῦν ἔστι μετριώτατα τοπάσαι, τοδ' ἔοικεν εἶναι· θεὸς κηδόμενος κ.τ.λ.* It is likely that this divination of character was treated by the seers *secundum artem*, nor is it difficult to see how it is connected with the explanation of names. That the name given to a child was supposed to have a grave bearing upon his future we know, for instance, from the dispute beween the father and mother over the body of the infant Pheidippides, recounted in the opening scene of the *Clouds*, and in such a choice the 'divination' both of names and of character must have played an important part[1]. Pindar, then, takes the child of Akragas and commences upon him a *τοπὴ* of this kind, a divination of character. We shall perhaps see the completion of it in a verbal divination. But first observe in line 97 a confirmation of the belief that the objects of the poet's rebuke are the Sicilian literati; *λαλαγῆσαι* is a word native to the Dorians of the west; the authorities cited for it, out of Pindar, are Theokritus and Leon of Tarentum, and this hint should be weighed in the interpretation of the other Pindaric example, Ol. 9. 29 foll., where Pindar, as I understand him, rejects the legend that Herakles had fought single-handed against the three gods, and concludes with the words, addressed to the author of it, *μὴ λαλάγει τὰ τοίαυτα.* That ode is upon Epharmostus, a Lokrian of Opus. Is it too rash to hazard a conjecture that the story at which Pindar directs this quasi-Dorian sneer had been related in connection with the praises of the Italian Lokri by some bard of those regions, perhaps Stesichorus, among the titles of whose poems is mentioned an Ἆθλα?

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[1] Compare the twentieth epigram of Ausonius, especially lines 3, 4 :—

> Nam divinare est nomen componere, quod sit
> Fortunæ, *morum*, vel necis indicium.

The instances adduced are all Greek, *Protesilaus*, *Hippolytus*, *Idmon*. (I am indebted for this reference to Mr Sandys.) Another trace of early connection between the vocabularies of fortune-telling and etymology may be found in the word *ἐπιγλωσσᾶσθαι*, *to speak in ominous terms*, which shews that the seers first, as the grammarians after them, called the words upon which their art was exercised *γλῶσσαι.*

[I will not pass by this line Ol. 2. 97 without a word on the disputed reading and construction of it. I agree with those who think that *θέλων τὸ λαλαγῆσαι* is not classical Greek and that *τε* before *θέμεν* is a mere insertion to supply the metre after the loss of the preposition governing *καλοῖς ἔργοις*. Professor Paley suggests *θέμεν ἐν*, which is at first sight convincing. I prefer however *θέμεν ἐπ'*, for this reason. The form *κρύφος* (masc.), if we may trust analogy, is active, meaning 'that which covers, a cover;' compare *τάφος*, *γνάφος*, *ζόφος*, etc. *Obscuration* or *covering* (the process) would be not *κρύφος* but *κρυφὴ*, like *ταφὴ*, *βαφὴ*, *ὑφὴ*, *δρυφὴ* (= *ἀμυχὴ* Hesych.). To find forms resembling *κρύφος* both in stem and suffix is not easy. Hesychius gives after the gloss just cited another, *Δρυφοί· ξέσματα* which would shew a masculine passive form in *-ος*, but the analogy of *ὑφαὶ*, *ταφαὶ*, *βαφαὶ*, etc., for which we have much better evidence than a single gloss, indicates that we ought to read *Δρυφαί· ξέσματα*, the results of the process being described by the plural of the process-name itself. In English the singular serves both uses as in *painting*, though we have the plural too, as in *hangings*, *trappings*. The corresponding gloss in Suidas is obscure and perhaps incomplete, *Δρύφη· ξέσματα Δρύφοι*. Here *δρύφη*, by the accent and the gloss, is the plural of *δρύφος* (neut.) *a scraping*, like *τρύφος*, *ὕφος*, *γράφος*, etc. For *δρύφοι* I should read either *δρυφαὶ*, added as a synonym, or *δρύφος* the singular of *δρύφη*, added to distinguish it from the other *δρυφὴ* (fem.). Either would account for the absence of any gloss upon it and bring it into harmony with other evidence. Under *στύφος* in Stephanus (ed. Dindorf) is cited as from "Eugenicus, Laud. Trapez. p. 372. 77, *ταῖς ἁγίαις οἰναῖς ἡμερόδρυες* *πολλαχοῦ* (admixtae sunt) *καὶ τοῖς ἐκ δρύων δράχεσι καὶ στύφοις αἱ Διὸς βάλανοι*." Here *στύφος* if genuine is passive, 'a thing stubbed up, a *stump*,' as *δράχος* is 'a thing pulled off, a *slip*,' and with this agree Hesychius, *Στύφος· κέρδος* (κερδοc for κορμοc), and the Et. Mag. *στύφεσι ὅ ἐστι τοῖς στελέχεσι*. Upon this last the editor of Stephanus curtly remarks "fingit Etym. Mag." To me the evidence of reason and analogy seems to be wholly in favour of the neuter *στύφος*, and I should put the error, if anywhere, in the passage of Eugenicus, substituting for *στύφοις στύφεσι*; but perhaps both existed. However this may be, neither *δρύφος* nor *στύφος*, if we were satisfied of their reality, would help to shew that *κρύφος* could mean *obscuration*, and the same may be said of *σκύφος*. We must fall back on more general arguments, which point to rendering *κρύφος a cover*, or as Liddell and Scott less precisely *a cloud*. But then the preposition *ἐν* must be out of place, for a cover is put over things not among them, while *ἐπὶ* is not only appropriate but almost indispensable. In the sequence *ενεπες* the loss of a syllable is not surprising.]

The way is now clear for considering the last sentence of the ode. It is commonly translated, *Who shall say how many joys that man has caused to others?* But if this has passed without consideration, it has been, I may safely say, from the familiarity of the words, and not from the familiarity of the construction. To examine here the uses of *τίθημι* is obviously impossible. I have done so with some care for my own satisfaction, and I doubt very much whether a perfectly satisfactory parallel can be produced for the phrase *he set* (*ἔθηκε*) *pleasures to others*. The dictionaries collect under this head instances which have only a superficial resemblance, being descended by different lines from the primitive meaning of the verb. But supposing that *χάρμα τιθέναι* is good Greek for *to cause pleasure*, it is still to be proved that it is natural in Pindar. The word *χάρμα* with the cognate *χάρμη* occurs in this poet, according to Donaldson's Index, twelve times, and is in fact a favourite. In almost all these passages the word means distinctly *prize*, *triumph*, *success;* in none is this notion inappropriate, unless it be the obscure Pyth. 9. 64, which I can hardly understand. And how strongly in Pindar's vocabulary *χάρμα* was stamped with this special sense we see from such expressions as Ol. 11. 22 *ἄπονον ἔλαβον χάρμα παῦροί τινες*, or Nem. 3. 66 *ἐπιχώριον χάρμα κελαδέων*, which would scarcely be intelligible if there could be a doubt whether *χάρμα* meant *triumph* or *pleasure*. In Pindar therefore *χάρμα τιθέναι* should be something equivalent to *ἄθλα τιθέναι* Nem. 9. 9. But what these numerous *prizes* or *triumphs* were which Thero *set* (or, if you please, *caused*) *for others*, it would be difficult to explain. It will be time to do so when we are quite sure that Pindar mentions them. But is it not almost strange, that having struck into the etymologizing vein, and having touched in this connection upon the *τοπὴ* of Thero's character, the poet should omit the fair opportunity for a *τοπὴ* offered by his patron's name, *ὁ θηρῶν*? A modern might think such playfulness disrespectful: the Greeks thought otherwise, for, as we shall see, it was a form of compliment paid by preference to the gods. May I suggest that the genuine reading was *χάρματ’ ἄλλοισι θήρᾳ*? *How often my friend pursues triumph for others who can reckon?* We are told in 49 foll. of this ode that Thero on two great occasions at least had shared the honours of victory with his brother Xenocrates. That it was Thero who bore the burden is probable both from the context and because he was altogether the more wealthy and important personage. What he did for Xenocrates he may have done for other connections, or if not, the single case would, according to Greek usage, satisfy the generality of *ἄλλοις*. Until fresh evidence shall be forthcoming this must remain a mere guess, but it seems worth suggesting. I may add that the metaphor of 'chasing success' is Pindaric; see *μερίμναν ἀγροτέραν* at 54 of this same ode, which if *θήρᾳ* should be right seems meant to lead up to it.

But to proceed with *τοπὴ*, of which we now better know the meaning. I have scarcely looked for examples beyond the tragedians, nor searched even there thoroughly, but the following are, I hope, sufficient to establish the word—

Ag. 681 foll.

τίς ποτ’ ὠνόμαζεν ὧδ’ ἐς τοπὰν ἐτητύμως—
μή τις ὅντιν’ οὐχ ὁρῶμεν προνοίαισι τοῦ πεπρωμένου
γλῶσσαν ἐν τύχᾳ νέμων—
τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῆ θ’ Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως
ἑλένας, ἕλανδρος ἑλέπτολις...ἔπλευσε.

MSS. (if we may trust the collation) *τὸ πᾶν*. *Who was it that named her with so true a prophecy (with such literal truth in* *respect of his divination)? Was it One to us invisible by foreknowledge of doom bestowing aright the meaning word?* For *γλῶσσα* see the note on p. 133; this at least seems an improvement on the common interpretation. *ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως, with such truth in the whole,* is but a shabby and slovenly phrase; with what reason it is supposed to be Æschylean we shall presently see. Not to anticipate, I will here only ask the reader in pursuing what follows to bear in mind this well-known passage and the light which it throws upon the view taken by Æschylus of these magical interpretations. To him, or at least to those whose feelings he studied, such things were no mere quips, no mere jests of a shallow and irreverent humour such as we mark with the fatal brand of 'pun.' If we would read in the Æschylean spirit we must with whatever difficulty keep this word and its associates wholly out of our minds, and substitute for them the deepest teachings and dearest offices of household religion. To the Greek mind the name Ἑλένη, fixed by ignorant parents upon an innocent child, the name Ἀπόλλων, name of the god of brightness yet mysterious symbol of ruin (Ag. 1080), the name Ἀλέξανδρος, bestowed in the insolence of triumph, yet with inverted syllables presaging inverted doom (p. 140)—these were the writing of an unknown Hand, not upon the wall or scene of the tragedy, but upon the very persons themselves. And if I may say so without impertinence, I am so far of the Greek opinion that MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN itself, with all its meanings, has for me scarcely more in it of wrath and terror than

> *ἑλένας, ἕλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις,*
> *ἐκ τῶν ἁβροπήνων προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσε*
> *Ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔρᾳ.*

In Ag. 975 foll. we have *τοπάω* almost undisguised.

> *τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδως*
> *δεῖμα προστατήριον*
> *καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται,*
> *μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος ἀοιδὰ;...*
> *τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας ὅμως ὑμνῳδεῖ*
> *θρῆνον Ἐρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσωθεν*

θυμός, οὐ τοπᾶν ἔχων
ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.

MSS. τὸ πᾶν. The metaphor represents the mind as a seer chanting to itself *unbidden and unfeed* a mournful prophecy, and *unable to discover* (τοπᾶν) *the welcome assurance of hope;* the language of divination is pursued in the sequel with the words σπλάγχνα, ματάζει, τελεσφόροις, etc.

Prom. 913 foll.

τοιώνδε μόχθων ἐκτροπὴν οὐδεὶς θεῶν
δύναιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐμοῦ δεῖξαι σαφῶς.
ἐγὼ τάδ' οἶδα κοὐ τοπῶ.

MSS. χῷ τρόπῳ, which is wholly ungrammatical. The same contrast recurs Ag. 1369 τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σαφ' εἰδέναι δίχα: and we know from Plat. Epinomis 975 C that the dogmatic οἶδα of the prophets passed into a proverb, μαντικὴ... τὸ λεγόμενον οἶδε μόνον, εἰ δ' ἀληθὲς, οὐκ ἔμαθε.

Pind. Nem. I. 29, σέο δ' ἀμφὶ τοπῶ τῶν τε καὶ τῶν χρήσιας. *Of you I prophesy both auguries.* MSS. τρόπῳ...χρήσιες, which I cannot translate.

Soph. Phil. 201 foll.

προυφάνη κτύπος
φωτὸς σύντροφος ὡς τειρομένου του·
ἤ που τῇδ' ἢ τῇδε, τοπῶ.
βάλλει, βάλλει μ' ἐτύμα φθογγά του στίβου.

MSS. τόπων. The genitive dependent on τῇδε is grammatically justified by ποῦ γῆς. But in τῇδε τόπων it is wholly superfluous, whereas in ποῦ γῆς it gives emphasis. Is there any other example of it? If confirmation be wanted for τοπῶ *Hereabouts or here, I conjecture*—observe the occurrence in the next line of ἐτύμα, a word which we have already seen reason to associate with it.

The case is less clear in the fragment usually classed as Soph. 678, 1—6.

ὦ παῖδες ἥ τοι Κύπρις οὐ Κύπρις μόνον
ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπώνυμος.
ἔστιν μεν ῞Αιδης, ἔστι δ' ἄφθιτος βίος,

ἔστιν δὲ λύσσα μαινὰς, ἔστι δ' ἵμερος
ἄκραντος, ἔστ' οἰμωγμὸς ἐν κείνῃ τοπᾶν.
[σπουδαῖον, ἡσυχαῖον, ἐς βίαν ἄγον].

The last line, which is something worse than flat, looks to me like an attempt to make intelligible the MS. reading *τὸ πᾶν.* As restored, the passage signifies that Death, Life, Madness, and Lamentation, *may be discovered*, or *divined* in the character of Κύπρις, and the goddess variously named under these aspects. The vulgate must be intended to signify, in the words of a recent paraphrase, 'Eagerness, gentleness, violence are blended and united in her' (Hellenica, p. 37). But to get this every word must be forced; *τὸ πᾶν* is nothing but *the whole, σπουδαῖον* is an intolerable substitute for *τὸ σπουδαῖον* and means, if anything, *seriousness, ἡσυχαῖον good-nature,* a weak word and false antithesis, and worst of all is *ἐς βίαν ἄγον,* which surely *μετέχει σολοικισμοῦ.*

Of the form *τόπος* I can propose at present only two examples[1]—

The first is Choeph. 753 foll.

τὸ μὴ φρονοῦν γὰρ ὡσπερεὶ βότον
τρέφειν ἀνάγκη, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; τόπῳ φρενός·
οὐ γάρ τι φωνεῖ παῖς ἔτ' ὢν ἐν σπαργάνοις
εἰ λιμὸς, ἢ δίψησις, ἢ λιψουρία
ἔχει· νεὰ δὲ νηδὺς αὐταρκὴς τέκνων.
τούτων πρόμαντις οὖσα κ.τ.λ.

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[1] I must note however that the use of *τόπος* in rhetoric seems to require consideration by the light of this form. In Aristotle, *as we now read him*, the word is connected by a rather artificial definition with *τόπος*, *place*, which was perhaps originally the same word. But I cannot help thinking that Korax at all events, who used *τοπή* for the 'divination' of etymologies, also used *τόπος* for the 'divination' of probabilities. We know that his manual of rhetoric was occupied wholly with questions of the probable, *τὸ εἰκός*. See Arist. Rhet. B, 24, § 10, and ibid. 23, § 28, *ἔστι δ' ὁ τόπος οὗτος τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος καὶ τὸ εἶδος* (qu. *εἰκὸς*, compare the first passage) *ὅλη ἡ πρότερον Θεοδώρου τέχνη.* The two observations are apparently identical in meaning, for what is 'the rhetoric previous to Theodorus' if not that of the Sicilians? Cope's translation is very doubtful, even if anything were known of "the earlier manual of Theodorus." The words *καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς* are a comment by way either of explanation or correction upon *οὗτος ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος.* The adjective *ἄτοπος*, *inexplicable*, is also of this family.

MSS. τρόπῳ. *A child must be reared by 'divining its mind,' for it cannot express its want...So I, forecasting its need,* etc.

The other example has had a curious history. In Musgrave's collection of the fragments of Euripides, will be found the following ('Αλέξανδρος, fr. 23. 2):—"Δεῖ δ' οὐ ταῖς φήμαις τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐξελέγχεσθαι τρόπους. Citat Barnesius a scriptore Vitæ Galeni, quam tamen Vitam non invenio." Because, I suppose, of the doubt thus expressed, the fragment does not appear under the head 'Αλέξανδρος in the Dindorf collection. Whether it has been condemned to the limbo of the 'Αδήλων, or to utter Ἅδης I have not enquired, but it is certainly genuine, and might almost have been proved to belong to the 'Αλέξανδρος without the statement of Barnes. The double name of Helen's seducer was a hint not lost upon the prophet-poets of Greece; they related that when Paris returned with his beautiful prize, the shepherds of Ida testified their admiration of his prowess by dubbing him 'Αλέξανδρος *the router of the husband,* and we gather that this learned legend was repeated by Euripides in his play (frag. 65 Dindorf). But Æschylus had carried the matter one step further, one step perhaps too far. In the chorus of the *Agamemnon,* which celebrates the destruction of Troy, we find (709 foll.)

> μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον Πριάμου πόλις γεραία
> πολύθρηνον μετά που στένει
> κικλήσκουσα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον.

The repentant city of Priam must now learn its mocking marriage-song (see the context) with a transposition (*μετάθεσις*) and call Paris no more *ἀλεξ-αν-δρος* but *αἰν-ολεκ-τρος*—an epithet which has been *miserably married* by Mr Robert Browning, though unhappily not, as he best could have done it, to Milton's "immortal verse." Of course I am prepared to be told that the correspondence of sound is insufficient to support this inversion, and perhaps sharply reprimanded for obtruding upon the great tragedian so far-fetched a conceit, "yet here I cannot choose but speak plainly after my own poor conscience and risk all chances of chastisement." We do not know how far, if at all, the *ι* was heard in the first syllable of *αἰνόλεκτρος*; and next, the question is not what would please us, but what contented Æschylus and his audience, upon which question I ask a little patience. Poets not less—or, if Mr Swinburne pleases, only less—than Æschylus have sinned quite as deeply against the nineteenth century. At all events Euripides, as will readily be conceded, repeated the etymology, tempted, as Barnes' fragment will shew, by the irresistible bait of a double-edged gibe *more suo* at the art of the prophets and his illustrious predecessor—

> δεῖ δ' οὐ τόποισίν[1] ἐξελέγχεσθαι τρόπους,
> *but character is not to be inferred from characters*—

a judgment, whether of the ethical or the literary taste, to which we should now subscribe, whatever we might think of Euripides' own taste in thus mixing prejudice and controversy with a work of art. On *τόποισι* some one wrote the perfectly correct gloss *ταῖς φήμαις* (or more probably *φωναῖς*) *τῶν ὀνομάτων*, *the meanings of names*, which now stands in the place of the original.

It seems that in the MSS. of the tragedians the words *τὸ πᾶν* should never be passed without scrutiny. I believe that they cover a corruption in Æsch. Eum. 401. Athena, arriving from the Troad where she has been taking part as one of the enemies of Troy in the work of revenge that followed the conclusion of the war, introduces herself thus—

> πρόσωθεν ἐξήκουσα κληδόνος βοὴν
> ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου, γῆν καταφθατουμένη,
> ἣν δῆτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἀκτορές τε καὶ πρόμοι
> τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα
> ἔνειμαν αὐτόπρεμνον ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐμοί.

αὐτόπρεμνος should mean *with* or *to the very stump* or *base*, as *αὐτόφλοιός* means *with the actual bark*, *αὐτόρριζος to the very root*, etc., and so it is used elsewhere, as in *αὐτόπρεμνον ὄλλυσθαι*, *ἀνασπᾶν*; see Dictt. s. v. But what then is the meaning of *αὐτόπρεμνος γῆ*? For a time I thought this another instance of *τὸ πᾶν* for *τροπὴν*, but *τροπὴ* signifies not *subversion* but *change* and is hardly appropriate. Should it not be *αὐτόπρεμνον ἐς κοπὴν*—*they gave it me to be shorn unto the roots*, a poetical adaptation of the familiar *κόπτειν γῆν*? If this be right we get a fresh hint upon the obscure *καταφθατουμένη*, a word which, if we grant it possible and accept the usual interpretation, is still not very suitable to the situation, for how should the goddess be *taking early possession* of her share in the spoils of Troy so long after the sack? Could there be such a causal verb as *καταφθιτόω to destroy?* I am sure it is less strange than *καταφθατέω*, for we have both *καταφθίνω* and *φθιτόω*, classical words of the sense required; *καταφθάνω* does not apparently occur till the LXX. and (what is of more importance) when it does occur, means as might be expected *to come suddenly*, *take by surprise* (L. and Sc. s.v.), and of *φθατὸς* or its derivatives no trace has been pointed out except *φθατάω* = *φθάνω* (Hesych.), which does not help far towards *καταφθατέομαι to take possession.* The scholiast interprets *καταφθατουμένη*, but there are many signs that his text was little less corrupt than ours; moreover the question is not of MSS. authority but of etymological possibility. The middle participle *καταφθιτουμένη* must signify *causing to be destroyed*, that is, *presiding over the destruction of*—which is precisely the sense required.

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[1] I write *τόποισι* here, not *τοπαῖσιν*, because of the better play thus obtained upon *τόποι τρόποι*. But of course the termination is not certain.

In Cho. 434 we find yet another variety. Electra, to whet the vengeance of her brother, laments the insult put upon Agamemnon in the manner of his burial, unhonoured by any observance public or private—

ἰὼ ἰὼ δαία
πάντολμε μᾶτερ, δαίαις ἐν ἐκφοραῖς
ἄνευ πολιτᾶν ἄνακτ'
ἔτλας ἀνοίμωκτον ἄνδρα θάψαι.

To which Orestes replies—

τὸ πᾶν ἀτίμως ἔλεξας, οἴμοι.
πατρὸς δ' ἀτίμωσιν ἆρα τίσει κ.τ.λ.

On the style of this reply, the less said the better; but what of the grammar? Is it conceivable that ἀτίμως should belong not to ἔλεξας but to some verb understood, such as πεπρᾶχθαι? Where is the authority for such a 'subauditum'? We are referred only to Ag. 1244 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξῃκασμένα, a wholly inadequate support. The analogy of the numerous cases of corruption in τὸ πᾶν which we have investigated will justify what might otherwise be too bold—

> ταφὰν ἀτίμων ἔλεξας, οἴμοι.
> *It was a felon's burial! Fie upon it!*

The substantival use of adjectives and participles without the article is characteristic of Æschylus, as Professor Paley has observed. I need not quote examples for ἔλεξας ταφὴν = 'What you describe is the burial.' Further support to the correction τὸ πᾶν—ταφὰν is given by the fact that τάφον removes most of the difficulty from Cho. 331; the words τὸ πᾶν there have been long seen to be wrong, and it is very likely that my suggestion has been anticipated, though it is not noticed in the well-known commentaries; perhaps because the evidence which makes it plausible has not been pointed out. Orestes and Electra are commencing their dirge and invocation over their father's grave. Orestes (315—321) expresses his fear lest their voices should not reach where the dead man is, but the Chorus assure him that the dead retain the power of hearing and responding to appeals, particularly when the spirit of an ancestor is invoked by his descendants—

> τέκνον, φρόνημα τοῦ θανόντος οὐ δαμάζει
> πυρὸς μαλερὰ γνάθος,
> φαίνει δ' ὕστερον ὀργάς·
> ὀτοτύζεται δ' ὁ θνήσκων, ἀναφαίνεται δ' ὁ βλάπτων.
> πατέρων τε καὶ τεκόντων γόος ἔνδικος ματεύει
> †τὸ πᾶν† ἀμφιλαφὴς ταραχθείς.

Lachmann proposed ῥοπὰν, of which one can but say, in the phrase of Madvig, "Quis interpretem interpretabitur?" Yet ματεύει suggests irresistibly an accusative case, and the attempt to get one by making τεκόντων into τὸ κεῦθος (Wecklein, Æsch. Stud. p. 157) has been properly abandoned by the learned and ingenious author himself (Rhein. Mus. 33. 117). After what we have seen, *τάφον* will not appear an unscientific emendation, and the lines may then be rendered

and 'tis a just lament that, roused afar, seeks out the burial-place of fathers and forefathers.

To bring the antistrophe into metrical conformity nothing more violent is required than the substitution of *χερὶ* for *χεροῖν*, a change highly desirable for its own sake. The dual is quite out of place and probably a mere perversion to suit the perverse *τὸ πᾶν*. *ἀμφιλαφὴς ταραχθεὶς* is a remarkable expression, but intelligible, if a proleptic force be given to *ἀμφιλαφὴς*, so that the literal meaning may be *roused so as to be wide-reaching*. Upon *πατέρων* and *ἔνδικος* there is an emphasis, the sense being not merely that a filial lament *is* heard, but that it has a special right and power to make itself heard. The reading *τάφον* does not affect any of the proposed alterations of *τεκόντων*: I am not sure that any of them are necessary, but must not pursue the question now.

This proved partiality of our copyists to the phrase *τὸ πᾶν* may help towards the recovery of another passage, which even in its defaced condition is of singular magnificence, the close of the solemn hymn in the *Choephoroe* which is sung as the disguised Orestes armed for revenge approaches the palace of the murderers.

στρ. *τὸ δ' ἄγχι πνευμόνων ξίφος*
640 *διανταίαν ὀξυπευκὲς οὐτᾷ*
διαὶ Δίκας τὸ μὴ θέμις οὐ
λὰξ πέδοι πατούμενον
τὸ πᾶν Διὸς σέβας παρεκβάντες οὐ θεμιστῶς
ἀντ. 646 *Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται πυθμήν*
προχαλκεύει δ' Αἶσα φασγανοῦργος
τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει δόμοις δ'
αἱμάτων παλαιτέρων
650 *τείνει μύσος χρόνῳ κλυτὴ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς.*

Such is the text, with approved corrections such as Hermann's *οὐτᾷ* for *σοῦται*. After *θέμις* in 641 the MSS. have *γὰρ*—

apparently inserted with the intention (save the mark!) of helping the grammar—but, having given up the convenient doctrine of the scholiast *μετοχὴ ἀντὶ ῥήματος*, we must, as many have seen, eject this *γὰρ*, for the remainder of the strophe does not exhibit the slightest trace of a suitable verb. Moreover the sense and the Attic usage of *οὐτάζω* or *οὐτάω* require that *οὐτᾷ* should have a direct object, which by the order of the words can scarcely be anything but *τὸ μὴ θέμις*. So far, then, we can proceed—

"*Now is the sword near the heart and, by the help of Vengeance, strikes Iniquity a downright blow of its keen edge.*"

But what is *οὐ*? Take *τὸ μὴ θέμις* as you please, still *οὐ* gives no sense, for that *οὐ λὰξ πατεῖν τὸ μὴ θέμις* should mean *not to pass over iniquity*, i.e. to *notice it*, is merely impossible. But for the very reason that the syllable is meaningless we are bound to give an account of its presence. It was, I suggest, originally written by some 'manus secunda,' as a correction over the last syllable of *πατούμενον*, from which position it might easily slip to the end of the preceding line. With the help of the true reading *πατουμένου* we can decide that of the corrections proposed on *παρεκβάντες* the nearest *παρεκβάντος* is the best, and that *τὸ πᾶν*, once more the source of all the mischief, should follow its neighbours and the metre of the antistrophe, and become *τοῦ πᾶν*—*while he that lawlessly over-stepped all fear of God is trampled beneath her feet.* "The metre," I say, "of the antistrophe"—for I entirely agree with Professor Paley that the proposed *τίνει* for *τείνει* introduces language strange to Æschylus if not to Greek poetry. It is the punished offender who "pays," and not the avenging power. But why, now that we are rid of the metrical difficulty arising from *τὸ πᾶν*, should we avoid the conclusion that *τίνει* is a mistaken alteration and *τείνει* genuine? The demon that makes murder follow murder certainly *prolongs* the pollution of blood, and if Euripides could write *τείνειν φόνον* (Supp. 672), why not Æschylus *τείνειν μύσος*? This assumes however that *αἱμάτων* depends upon *μύσος*, as surely it does. The scholiast, indeed, if his opinion be worth anything, takes it with *τέκνον*, thus—*ἐπεισφέρει δὲ τοῖς οἴκοις τέκνον παλαιῶν αἱμάτων, ὅ ἐστι, τίκτει ὁ φόνος ἄλλον φόνον*, but he refutes himself, if he is the author of the gloss on 650 *τίνει· ἀπαιτεῖ*, for this at least proves that his MS. there gave, as ours do, a finite verb; somewhere, therefore, between *ἐπεισφέρει* and *τείνει* or *τίνει* he must have found a copula, such as *δὲ*; and where could this stand, if not before *αἱμάτων*, where the MS. reading *διμα[σ]ε δωμάτων*, though corrupt, distinctly places it? What the scholiast made of it we cannot say, but so small an impediment could not give much trouble to the author of such notes as "*γὰρ* is omitted," "*γὰρ* is for *δέ*," "*δὲ* is for *γάρ*," etc. Our less flexible canons compel us to observe that *τέκνον* and *αἱμάτων* are in different sentences. Besides, suppose that we were warranted in removing the *δὲ*, which the editors have done, and could find a plausible substitute for *τείνει*, which they have not, still for myself, though perhaps I am squeamish, I find the metaphor *τέκνον αἱμάτων*, *the child of blood*, somewhat nauseous and difficult to swallow, even with the aid of Cho. 805 *γέρων φόνος μηκέτ' ἐν δόμοις τέκοι*. In such a personification of the crime, the difference between *blood* and *murder* seems material. *δόμοις*, the "dativus incommodi" or whatever it should be called, will go at least as well with the second clause as with the first. But then *τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει* must be a clause by itself, and if so it cannot be correctly read. This conclusion should hardly surprise us; for that there is the closest continuity of sense between 647 and 648 is shewn by the correlation of *προ-χαλκεύει* with *ἐπ-εισφέρει*, for which we have Æschylean examples in Supp. 200 *πρόλεσχος...ἔφολκος*, Ag. 174 *προφρόνως...ἐπινίκια* (see below, p. 154); yet as 648 stands in the MS. there is scarcely any continuity at all. Let us reconsider the whole context. The clue of the thought both in strophe and antistrophe is the metaphor of the avenging sword. In the strophe we are told generally how it pierces the fallen sinner, in the antistrophe the work of making and using it is parted among the spiritual artificers. Justice sets the anvil for it, Doom, *the swordsmith*, forges it ready, and *then* Erinys, as it were the executioner, *adds her handiwork*, and sheds with it blood for blood. As our copyists have written in Eum. 170 *μυκὸν* for *μυχὸν*, and in Cho. 956 *ἐποίχεται* for *ἐπ'* *οἰκέταις*, so here their skill has robbed us of *τέχναν* and given us a spurious *τέκνον*. One word more and I will conclude this long digression. Is it possible that *κλυτὴ* can be right? *κλυτὸς* is an epic word, a rhapsodist's word of praise or admiration, and as such undoubtedly a common epic epithet of gods. But why should the deep and bloody minister of retribution be 'goodly,' 'glorious,' or even (if *χρόνῳ κλυτὸς* be admissible[1]), 'long famous'? The Indices to the Tragedians tell a plain story about the word; Euripides does not contain it (for we need hardly reckon the *κλυτὰν Θρονίαδα πόλιν* which figures in the dull and doubtful catalogue of the *Iphigenia in Aulis*); probably the poet thought that by his time this excellent piece of embroidery was a trifle threadbare; Sophokles, like Pindar, loves it for Homer's sake, and applies it in Homer's fashion as an ornament; thus he speaks of 'goodly herds' (Aj. 374), 'goodly spoils' (ibid. 177) and 'the glorious earth' (O. T. 172); Æschylus has it nowhere, unless here. His manner is not in this fashion Homeric, and if it were, could anything be more flat and frigid than such an ornament at the very climax of this tremendous prophecy? *κλυτὴ* then, I conclude, is not genuine, but a conjecture, and a bad one. And when our criticism has been thus awakened, we may perhaps find significance in what would otherwise escape notice—the Mediceus gives without any correction the incorrect Ionic inflexion *η*. This, in such faulty transcripts, might well be too common for remark, but strange to say it is extremely rare. The song which is the leading subject of this paper (Cho. 935—972), with all its errors, exhibits the Doric *α* in every one of the 12 cases which it contains. In that now before us the disputed word *κλυτὴ* is the only exception. True in the 'epode' to the *πάροδος* (Cho. 75—83) there are several Ionic forms, but that passage is not strophic, its rhythm is mainly iambic, and it may well have been originally Ionic throughout. Elsewhere in the play I have taken 36 instances indiscriminately and have found the uncorrected *η* 3 times only, 61 *ῥοπή*, 68 *ἀτή*, 467 *ἄτης*, and of these the first two occur in verses scarcely comprehensible. We have thus another reason for suspecting that κλυτὴ is a conjecture, and further that the original word was an epithet not of Ἐρινὺς at all but of some other substantive, perhaps of αἱμάτων, otherwise the corrector must have had the feminine in α before him, and could hardly have written η, as if dealing with κλυτῶν he might. I have said already that such transference of epithets by change of inflexion is exceedingly common. Other small indications point the same way. If I have satisfied the reader as to the general sense, he will agree with me that χρόνῳ at all events was in some way connected with the previous line, and if χρόνῳ, then, as the rhythm tells us, κλυτὴ too, or the word which κλυτὴ represents. Now is it possible for us to get beyond κλυτῶν? Perhaps not, but an attempt can do no harm. If we look carefully at the two corruptions ἐπ' οἰκέταις—ἐποίχεται and τέχναν—τέκνον, we see that each involves two parallel changes, first the confusion of κ and χ, and then a mistaken correction of the form thus produced. The very same process reversed will take us from κλυτῶν to a good and Æschylean epithet of αἱμάτων, thus, κλυτῶν—κυτῶν—χυτῶν; compare Eum. 682,

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[1] In Pind. Pyth. 11. 32 *χρόνῳ* is to be taken with *ἵκων*.

πρώτας δίκας κρίνοντες αἵματος χυτοῦ,

and again Cho. 400,

ἀλλὰ νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας
χυμένας ἐς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν
αἷμα. βοᾷ γὰρ λοιγὸς Ἐρινὺν
παρὰ τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην
ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσαν ἐπ' ἄτῃ.

We may hope therefore that we are not very far from the original in writing—

τέχναν δ' ἐπεισφέρει, δόμοις δ'
αἱμάτων παλαιτέρῳ
τείνει μύσος χρόνῳ χυτῶν βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς,

and thereto is added the work of the deep Avengeress making to endure upon the house the stain of blood shed long since.

Here as often the original error was probably slight and natural, *παλαιτέρων* for *παλαιτέρῳ*. This left *χρόνῳ* and *χυτῶν* structureless and obscure, and so followed the rest.

Returning once more to our original subject, I must redeem my promise as to Cho. 948,

> *ἔθιγε δ' ἐν μάχᾳ χερὸς ἐτητύμως*
> *Διὸς κόρα, Δίκαν δέ νιν*
> *προσαγορεύομεν*
> *βροτοὶ τυχόντες καλῶς*
> 952 *ὀλέθριον πνέουσαν ἐχθροῖς κότον*[1],

the daughter of Zeus did, in literal truth, touch a hand in the fight and we men are right happy in calling her Vengeance.

Whose hand did she touch, and what for, and what has the fact to do with the correctness of her name? Rather like her agent Orestes in 939 she made a successful cast (*ἔδικε*) in the spear-throwing, called *hand-play* because it depended upon strength of hand, and thus literally justified her appellation of *Δίκη*[2]. This particular *τοπή* has among Æschylean etymologies the distinction of being possibly right, though Professor Curtius, not perhaps knowing its high authority, rejects it (Gr. Et. Bk. II. No. 14). But after all the poet would have supported the professor, and given small thanks to any one who would provide the offspring of his errant fancy with a historical pedigree. For the real derivation of *δίκη* he would probably have preferred *Διὸς κόρη*; indeed he says so here according to the MS. reading *ἐτήτυμος Διὸς κόρα daughter of Zeus as her name implies.* Scaliger altered it to *ἐτητύμως*, but after all it may well be right.

It is to this curious manner of praising a divine person by interpreting his name that Aristotle refers in Rhet. B, 23 § 29 under the head *τόπος ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος*, among the examples of which is reckoned *ὡς ἐν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐπαίνοις εἰώθασι λέγειν.* A still more curious instance is given by Aristotle himself from Pindar in 24 § 2 of the same book, which I mention here because the context does not explain it, and I do not know that it has been yet explained: *ἢ εἴ τις κύνα ἐγκωμιάζων συμπαραλαμβάνει τὸν Πᾶνα, ὅτι Πίνδαρος ἔφησεν,*

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[1] The reading of 946 is not quite certain, but the variations are not important to the general sense of the passage. About 952 a curious difficulty has been raised. The MS. gives it as above, with the trifling error *πνέουσ' ἐν*, corrected as early as Robortello. Hermann objected that *πνέουσαν ἐχθροῖς* is not Greek. Of course not, but *ἐχθροῖς* depends upon *ὀλέθριον*: the grammatical order is *πνέουσαν κότον ὀλέθριον ἐχθροῖς.*

[2] By Eur. fr. 291 *μάχαι χερῶν* seems to be suitable rather to wrestling, boxing, or the *παγκράτιον*, as *νείκη ἀνδρων φόνια*: and it may be so here for, as we shall immediately see, the word *ἔδικε* is no bar, but considering the parallel in 939 I believe that Æschylus thought of the spear-contest.

> *ὦ μάκαρ, ὅν τε μεγάλας θεοῦ κύνα παντόδαπον*
> *καλέουσιν Ὀλύμπιοι.*

Pan is called Cybele's *dog*, not merely as 'ovium custos,' but because *dog* is the meaning of his name. *πᾶν* is, I believe, a good formation, according to the labialising tendency of the Boeotian dialect, from the stem *κϝαν-* Attic *κυν-*, just as *βανὰ* in that dialect (see Curtius) came from *γϝαν-*, Attic *γυν-*. This same fragment assures us of another word, which I have not seen registered, *παντόδαπος* *all-devouring* or *all-catching*, from the stem *δαπ-* of *δάπτω*, or labialised from *δακ-* in *δάκνω*, if indeed these stems are distinct. I have altered the accent myself. *παντοδαπὸς*, *from all places*, or (?) *of all kinds*, is a liberal epithet for one dog. A pun upon the two words is made or rather implied by allusion in the speech *κατὰ Ἀριστογείτονος α'* attributed to Demosthenes (Dem. p. 782) *κύων νὴ Δία φασί τινες τοῦ δήμου. ποδαπός; οἷος οὓς μὲν αἰτιᾶται λύκους εἶναι μὴ δάκνειν, ἃ δέ φησι φυλάττειν πρόβατα, αὐτὸς κατεσθίειν.* The difficulty here is to account for the form of the reply, which does not correspond with the question: that *ποδαπός* can stand for *ποῖος* is easier to assume than to prove. The orator borrows a popular joke—Question. *ποδαπὸς κύων*; What is the country (breed) of the dog? Laconian? Molossian? etc. Answer. *παντόδαπος*. The point is obvious but beyond translation[1]. The familiar question suggests the familiar reply, "A dog that will bite anything;" upon which the speaker refines by discriminating the biting powers of this particular "dog of the parish." The same word may help in correcting and interpreting Sophocles fr. 604, which has been carelessly copied, perhaps after a prose writer quoting from memory. *περίωσι' ἄφυκτά τε μήδεα παντοδαπᾶν βουλᾶν ἀδαμαντίναις ὑφαίνεται κέρκισιν* Αἶσα. It is difficult to believe that any copiable poet wrote such a circumlocution as *numerous wiles of all manner of plots*, and I may add that according to the use of the tragedians *βουλή* means not *device, plot*, but *advice, counsel, deliberation*. The original was apparently in glyconics, and may have stood thus,

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[1] I have to thank Mr G. W. Balfour, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, for useful hints at this point and elsewhere.

> *περιώσι' ἄφυκτά τε*
> *μήδεα παντοδάπων βόλων*
> *ἀδαμαντίναις*
> *κέρκισιν* Αἶσ' *ὑφαίνει*,

very many and hard to escape are the wiles of the nets which Doom with shuttle of iron doth weave for every prey. The metaphor is familiar, *ἀλύτον Μοιράων νῆμα, δολία* Ἄτα, *γάγγαμον* Ἄτης *παναλώτου*, etc. *μήδεα βόλων* was perhaps justified to Sophocles by the Homeric authority of *μήδεα ὑφαίνειν*.

Unless I am mistaken, Æschylus made mystery out of the word *δικεῖν* more than once. Take Agamem. 160 foll.

> *Ζεὺς—ὅστις ποτ' ἐστὶν, εἰ τοδ' αὐτῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,*
> *τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω.*
> 163 *οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος*
> *πλὴν Διὸς εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος*
> *χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.*
> *οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας*
> *παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,*
> *†οὐδὲν λέξαι† πρὶν ὤν.*
> *ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφυ τριακτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών.*
> *Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων*
> 175 *τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν*
> *τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδώσαντα κ.τ.λ.*

Note again the word *ἐτητύμως*. To examine here every place in which Æschylus uses this word and its cognates would be wearisome. Most of them however are noticed in this paper[1].

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[1] Those not noticed are Ag. 477, 1296, P. V. 293, 595, Theb. 82, 917. In Supp. 80 *ὕβριν δ' ἐτύμως στυγόντες* the word has been introduced with great probability for metrical reasons. The passage is so deeply corrupted

ἐτήτυμος signifies (1) truth of speech to fact, (2) *literal* or *verbal* accuracy, and in Æschylus repeatedly indicates the presence of a play upon words. The ambiguity of the English *true* and *truly* covers in such passages as Eum. 488 (see below) what is really a mistranslation.

I will mark two of the less obvious examples, in addition to those we have already found and shall find hereafter. (1) Æsch. Supp. 736,

> περίφοβόν μ' ἔχει τάρβος ἐτητύμως
> πολυδρόμου φυγᾶς ὄφελος εἴ τί μοι.

Of ἐτητύμως, thus emphatically placed, no explanation is usually offered. The point of it lies, I believe, in the forced sense put upon the word περίφοβος, which commonly signifies *very fearful*, but is here to bear its full etymological meaning of *fear-encompassed*. The suppliants have been, as they say in 349, περίδρομοι φυγάδες, like a heifer pent in by wolves and rocks, which runs round in the vain search for an escape. When, therefore, they see their enemies closing upon them once more, the thought recurs, and they ask themselves whether as they hoped the escape has been found. It is a question whether we should not read περιδρόμου φυγᾶς; the assonant commencement of the two lines would be more Æschylean. (2) In Eum. 496, the Eumenides prophesy in these terms the growth of matricide, if Orestes be spared—

> πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότρωτα
> πάθεα προσμένει τοκεῦσιν.

Again, no account is given of ἔτυμα, which surely cannot be inserted for nothing. It might be thought to mean "wounds not metaphorical and inflicted on the feelings, but actual and inflicted on the body." But there are several objections to this; τιτρώσκω and its kindred are not, it seems, used of

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that sure restoration is scarcely possible, but I think it likely that there was a play here as in Eum. 534 (see below) upon the two senses of κόρος, *bridegroom* and *insolence*, for the first of which see the fragment of Æschylus' cognate play the *Danaides* (Dind. 37). We should probably read κόρους δ' ἐτύμως, *bridegrooms with the pride of their name;* ὕβριν is the explanatory gloss.

wounded feelings, nor are the moral sensibilities of parents here in question, nor does ἔτυμος signify "non-metaphorical" but as I have already said, "literal," or "properly so called." Here the literal ambiguity must apparently lie in the word παιδότρωτα, and there we can find it without much trouble, for παίς, παιδὸς had two meanings, (1) *child*, and (2) *point*, the second being connected with παίω, *to strike*, as δαίς with δαίω, *to burn*. For this we have the express authority of Hesychius, παιδὸς· ἀκμῆς. This gloss has been without the smallest reason supposed corrupt, and παίς is therefore not in our Lexicon. παιδότρωτον πάθος then is properly *a wound given with the point*, or as Æschylus will have it, *a wound from the hand of a child*.

If now the reader will search for parallels to βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως *to fling away really* or *thoroughly* (the received translation) I think he will not find them. Let us then put δικεῖν (Hesych.) for the gloss βαλεῖν and look again. Between Διὸς and δικεῖν there is at least a partial resemblance, not indeed enough to raise in our minds the most fugitive thought of connecting them, but is not this because science has made us incapable of separating δικεῖν, even for a moment, into δι-κεῖν instead of δικ-εῖν? To Æschylus the choice was indifferent. He interprets Ἑλέναν by ἑλένας, ἕλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις without caring that the resemblance fades away till it is hardly worth notice. It is hard to believe that he would find Διὸς and δικεῖν too remote. But we shall have more evidence immediately. οὐδ' ὅστις...τυχὼν is a metaphor from the παγκράτιον, to which the word πάμμαχος *using all kinds of force* was specially appropriated. See Liddell and Scott s.v. and compare Plat. Euthyd. 271 C πάνσοφοι ἀτεχνῶς· ὡς ἔγωγε οὐδ' ᾔδη πρὸ τοῦ ὅτι εἶεν οἱ παγκρατιασταί. τούτω γὰρ ἔστον κομιδῇ παμμάχω, οὐ κατὰ τὼ 'Ακρανâνε τὼ παγκρατιαστὰ ἀδελφώ κ.τ.λ. Hence παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων means in prose 'having the sap and toughness of the pancratiast;' compare θρασύγυιος *tough-limbed*. The same thought is pursued in τριακτὴρ, *the victor of three falls*. With this our δικεῖν, *to cast or fling* an opponent, suits well enough, and that the verb is not unnatural in this sense may be seen from Bacch. 599 δίκετε πέδοσε δίκετε τρόμερα σώματα, Μαίναδες.

But what has οὐδὲν λέξαι (MSS.) to do with the metaphor? Better οὐδέν' ἂν δίξαι or δίκοι, both aorists of the same verb; *not even he who once was great can cast a rival.* Of the two aorists δίκοι has the support of Attic use, and of the corresponding strophe, δίξαι (ΔΙΞΑΙ, ΛΕΞΑΙ) is nearer to the letters. If δίκοι be right, as I believe, λέξαι is probably an attempt to interpret λάκοι; we have already seen a corrupt ἔλακε made out of ἔδικε in the *Choephoroe.* If proof is still wanted that we are to look for an etymology in this passage we may find it in the next two lines: κλᾴζων should have its *iota subscript* and τὸ πᾶν is the old corruption of τοπὰν, τοπὰ φρενῶν being a poetical equivalent for τοπῇ φύσεως; *but he that prophetically nameth Zeus by titles of victory shall be right in thus 'divining his character.'* Compare τοπὰν, 175, with προσεικάσαι, 163. κλάζων ἐπινίκια, *screaming songs* (or rather *screams?*) *of victory* is absurd, and τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν means, I say with submission, nothing whatever. προ-φρόνως ἐπι-νίκια are antithetical and correlative. Perhaps φρενῶν should be taken subjectively and translated *mental,* but τόπῳ φρενὸς in Cho. 754 leads me to prefer the other way. The connection of the whole is now clear, but it suggests one or two small restorations in the earlier lines. ματᾶν (gen. plur.) for μάταν (*the burden of error*) must have been proposed before, but why not accepted[1]? 163 is not quite smooth, for it is not among *all things,* but among *all words* or *names* for the deity that Διὸς is selected as alone equal to the need by its happy omen of weight and strength; also the clause οὐκ ἔχω should have a γὰρ or other connecting particle, and the compound ἐπισταθμᾶσθαι, a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, does not seem to have any particular force. All this points to reading

τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω,
οὐκ ἔχων προσεικάσαι πάντ' ἔπη σταθμώμενος
πλὴν Διὸς, κ.τ.λ.

for, pondering all names, I can conjecture none other but Zeus.

Was it perhaps a reminiscence of this ἔπη σταθμᾶσθαι which gave Aristophanes the hint for the famous verse-weighing, ἔπος πρὸς ἔπος, in the *Frogs*[1]?

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[1] I have since found it in Enger's *Agamemnon* (Teubner series), from whose suggestion I do not know.

(Here again I am but too well aware that I am laying my hand upon the Ark. The passage from which we are come, with its "earnest appeal" to the glorified Deity, its "strange vagueness" that shews the poet's "sense of the insufficiency of the mythology to satisfy his aspiration toward an embodiment of the highest good," and its solemn rhythmic dignity, is indeed sacred and beautiful beyond words. And it may well be that to those who feel this, it will seem at first shocking to find a verbal equivocation in such a place. But the ways of Æschylus are not our ways, none the better perhaps for us. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.* And if I may dare, upon a question of poetry and religion, to *defend* one of the greater prophets of the world —why should we think the expression of his doubt and faith less perfect, because in the very name of the god who *wrestled* for him the soul of the seeker found a talisman with which

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[1] I have said nothing above on the words πρὶν ὤν, not wishing to mix conjecture with that which seems to me reasonably certain. But that πρὶν ὤν is right I do not believe. Granted that as Aristophanes said ὅτ' ἦμεν, *in the days when we were something*, so Æschylus might say ὃς πρὶν ἦν, *he who once was something*, it does not follow that ὁ πρὶν ὤν, still less that πρὶν ὤν, is a satisfactory expression, the inflection of the verb, which is the sole indication of past time, being, as it seems to me, essential. Moreover the words are out of their place. Whether we can recover the true reading is another matter. The most probable I can offer is τριῶν, the present participle of τριάω, an assumed parallel but older form of τριάζω. If it be said that τριῶν does not occur in any extant passage—neither does τριάζειν. If the silence of the lexicographers is to prove that there was no τριάω, then it will equally prove that there was in tragedy no βιάομαι, which Suidas does not notice at all, while Hesychius (Photius is defective in B) merely says βιᾶται· γύναικας βιάζεται (Hdt. 4, 43), a reference which would not have helped us to restore Æsch. Ag. 385, if it had by chance been corrupted. The fact is that the old glossologies have no pretensions to completeness, and while their statements are invaluable, their silence is of little weight where scientific etymology makes us safe. That there were such duplicates as τριάζω, τριάω is notorious, and I hope I have shewn that one at least existed which has not been commonly known. Why should there not have been another? The verb, as inferred from its derivatives, had certainly two forms, τριάζω (stem τρια-) and τριάσσω (stem τριακ-). True, we do not find τριάτης, but only τριάστης. Nor do we find βιβάτης, but only βιβάστης (intransitive); yet βιβάω as well as βιβάζω not only existed but was the regular, perhaps the only, intransitive form. The alteration of τριῶν to πρὶν ὤν is easy to understand, when we remember that τριῶν after the other corruptions had taken place must have been completely meaningless.

> He fought his doubts and gathered strength...
> He faced the spectres of the mind
> And laid them.)

A very similar corruption has taken the point out of Eumenides 533 foll.

> *ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω,*
> *δυσσεβίας μεν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως·*
> *ἐκ δ' ὑγιείας*
> *φρενῶν ὁ πᾶσιν φίλος*
> *καὶ πολύευκτος ὄλβος·*
> *ἐς τοπὰν δέ τοι λέγω,*
> *βωμὸν αἴδεσαι δίκας.*

MS. *ἐς τὸ πᾶν δέ σοι.*

Here also the gloss *τέκος* has been added to shew the second sense of *κόρος* (*pride* and *son*), and afterwards as being more familiar adopted in its place. *Insolence is the son* (*κόρος*) *of impiety by its very name...and by the significance of this name* (*ἐς τοπὰν*=*in reference to this 'guess'*) *I say, etc.* Cp. Prof. Paley's note on Ag. 765 (740), and the note on p. 151 supra. *σοι* is unsatisfactory, as what follows is a *γνωμὴ* addressed to no person in particular. But the expression *ἐς τοπὰν δέ τοι λέγω* may well have been a cant phrase, like *ξυνὲς ὅ τοι λέγω* (Aristoph. Av. 945) and the like.

Again the same thing has occurred in Eumenides 488, where Athena declares her intention of constituting the Areopagus for the trial of Orestes. The skeleton of her speech, divested of parentheses and repetitions, is this—

> 470 *τὸ πρᾶγμα μεῖζον ἤ τις οἴεται τόδε*
> *βροτὸς δικάζειν· οὐδὲ μὴν ἐμοὶ θέμις*
> *φόνου διαιρεῖν ὀξυμηνίτους δίκας......*
> 487 *κρίνασα δ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα*
> *ἥξω διαιρεῖν τοῦτο πρᾶγμ' ἐτητύμως.*

In the last line *διαιρεῖν* is a gloss to explain the double sense of *δικάζειν*, which was the original word. Æschylus turns to account the resemblance between *δικάζειν to judge* and *διχάζειν to divide.* Compare Arist. Eth. [Nic.] v. 4 §§ 8, 9, and Mr Jackson's notes *ad loc.* Hence *ἐτητύμως*; *I will bring judges to 'divide' the cause in the true sense of the word.* This will perhaps throw some light upon 470. (The MS., I should observe, has *εἴ τις*, but I agree with the large majority of editors that *ἢ* not *εἰ* is the word required.) But there is a further difficulty of sense to point out. *This is a more serious matter than a mortal professes to decide; nor can I, a goddess, mix in it; therefore I will bring mortals to decide it, by division.* Is not Athena's logic a little lame? To support the conclusion the first premiss should be, *This is a more serious matter than* one *mortal professes to decide,* but this emphatic *one* is not expressed by the simple *τις*. Is it not likely that the original was this?—

> *τὸ πρᾶγμα μεῖζον ἢ τις οἶος οἴεται*
> *βροτὸς δικάζειν.*

οἶος alone is used by Sophocles and Euripides in dialogue, but it is so rare that it might easily be misunderstood and omitted as a false repetition of the following syllables, *τόδε* which is unnecessary being added to fill the line. It is a slight confirmation of this, that though *οἶμαι* and *οἴομαι* in the conversational sense are common in tragedy, no other parts of the verb seem to occur except a rare *ᾠόμην* or *ᾤετο* and one *οἴεσθαι*, so that this *οἴεται* is unique not only in sense but in form, which is explained if it was used partly for the sake of its assonance with *οἶος*.

At this point I ask the reader, if he rejected my explanation of Agam. 712, to look at it again, and if he still thinks it impossible that *αἰνόλεκτρος* is an enigma, then I will ask him to say what *denominating Paris* (as Mr Browning renders it) has to do with the *marriage-hymn*, or why the subject of his name is introduced at all.

I will here say a word upon the evidence for a distinct feminine form *τοπή*. *τόπος* is *admissible* in every case except *Agamemnon* 682. This subordinate question therefore must chiefly depend upon the evidence derived from *ἐς τὸ πᾶν* as it occurs in the MSS. of Æschylus. The result may be summarised thus:

1. *Cases in which ἐς τὸ πᾶν is corrupt, but can be corrected without assuming the form τοπή.*

Cho. 939 = ἐς τροπάν.
Eum. 52 = ἐς τρόπον.
ib. 200 = εἰς τὸ πᾶν (the correction of Canter; see Prof. Paley *ad loc.*).
ib. 401 = εἰς κοπήν. (If this correction be rejected, the case will fall within what is said below on Class 2.)
ib. 1044 = εἰσόπιν. (Linwood's correction, not perhaps certain, but ἐς τὸ πᾶν cannot possibly be right.)

2. *Cases in which ἐς τὸ πᾶν is probably genuine.*

Eum. 83 ὥστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σε τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων.
ib. 291 πιστὸν δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τε σύμμαχον.
ib. 670 ὅπως γένοιτο πιστὸς ἐς τὸ πᾶν χρόνου[1].
ib. 891 ἔξεστι γάρ σοι τῆσδε γαμόρῳ χθονὸς
εἶναι δικαίως ἐς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένῃ.
(?) Cho. 684 εἴτ' οὖν κομίζειν δόξα νικήσει φίλων
εἴτ' οὖν μέτοικον ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ ξένον
θάπτειν, ἐφέτμας τάσδε πόρθμευσον πάλιν.

3. *Cases in which I would restore ἐς τοπάν.*

Ag. 682 τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν κ.τ.λ.
Eum. 538 δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις κ.τ.λ.

I ask attention to this table, because if I am not mistaken it exhibits a somewhat striking result. Of the five cases which on my theory remain in Class 2 all but one are from a single play, and that one is doubtful, for in Cho. 684 ἐς τὸ πᾶν preceding ἀεὶ is redundant, and the correction ἐς ταφὴν ἀεὶ ξένον *a stranger even unto his burial* both easy and tempting. But all five agree in this, that ἐς τὸ πᾶν is an *adverb of time*, meaning *finally, for ever*. When therefore we render ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως *with entire truth*, and ἐς τὸ πᾶν σοὶ λέγω *under all circumstances*

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[1] If this line is not genuine it at least gives an early interpretation of 291 and 892. The resemblance between all these lines is very suspicious.

I advise you, we assume two senses for the adverb, each of them unique, in Æschylus at all events, and for all I know absolutely. Surely this is a *primâ facie* case for suspicion. Now in both of these cases we find ἐς τὸ πᾶν closely associated with a play upon words and with its accompaniment ἐτύμως or ἐτητύμως. Is it credible that this is a mere accidental coincidence? A similar argument might be based upon the examples of τὸ πᾶν.

There is one passage in the *Persæ* which I wish to notice, lest, if the conclusions of this paper should find any acceptance, a sound text should come into undeserved suspicion.

579 *πενθεῖ δ᾽ ἄνδρα δόμος στερηθεὶς, τοκέες δ᾽ ἄπαιδες,*
δαιμόνι᾽ ἄχη, ὀά,
δυρόμενοι γέροντες,
τὸ πᾶν δὴ κλύουσιν ἄλγος.

So it stands as usually printed. The last line strikes me as ludicrously feeble, though the full force of its feebleness can only be perceived by reading the whole passage, of which it is the crown and termination. But there are other remarks to make. κλύω ἄλγος *I hear my pain* is an odd way of saying *I hear what pains me*; κλύω ἄχος is quite another thing. And why such an emphasis on τὸ πᾶν, or what meaning has it? Still I do not think the error is in the MSS., but in the punctuation. 579—81 are complete in themselves and are injured by any addition. *The warrior is lamented by the house that has lost him and the parents bereft, old folk wailing, well-a-day, for the stroke of heaven*—(here I should place a colon; then, summing the total of desolation they add as a climax) *aye, 'tis a universal sound of woe* (literally, *aye, the whole is woeful to those hearing it*). This construction of ἄλγος as a predicate with a dependent dative occurs in Æschylus several times, e.g. Cho. 920.

But the reader, I fear, will by this time be exclaiming like "Sanchoniathon Manetho and Berosus," ἀτελευταῖον τὸ πᾶν. I return therefore (and really for the last time) to the original chorus. Having now, I hope, fairly driven the lacuna from the field let us consider the division of 953—972 into strophe and antistrophe. It will be observed that our text has been formed without any reference to metre. But if it is right and rightly explained, then clearly the only tolerable place for metrical division is *after* 962. Here there is not only a change of subject but an abrupt revolution of feeling from the tone of pious and thankful retrospect to that of savage and revengeful expectation. It is therefore a confirmatory coincidence that this division is justified not only by matter but by metre also. From 952 *τάνπερ ὁ Λοξίας* to the end of the song is in the new text thirty dochmiac feet; the fifteenth foot inclusive brings us to 962 *ψάλιον οἴκων.* But in order to make this perfectly clear I must say a word on the dochmiac metre, hoping to be excused if I introduce anything too familiar.

Dr Heinrich Schmidt, whose interesting views on Greek metres are now easily accessible through the recently published translation[1] by Dr White of his "Introduction to the Rhythmic and Metric of the Classical Languages," gives a list (p. 77 of the translation) of the forms of dochmiac feet. In my opinion the list might have been considerably extended without infringing Dr Schmidt's principles, but it is sufficient for the present purpose. I take five specimens—

1. *οἰοῖ δᾶ φεῦ φεῦ.* Eum. 841.
2. *νέφος ἐμὸν ἀπότροπον.* O. R. 1314.
3. *εἰς γόον εἰς δάκρυα.* Bacch. 1162
   (compare *ᾀξ' ἀδόλως δολίαν.* Cho. 954).
4. *φεροίμαν βόσκαν.* Eum. 264.
5. *δυσαλγεῖ τύχα.* Ag. 1165.

These forms are not mutually convertible by the mere process of 'resolution'; the first contains the 'equivalents' of ten short syllables, the fourth of nine, the last of eight. What then have they in common? Obviously this, that they can all be read or rather sung so as to fill the same musical time as the normal type, the fifth. And we may say shortly but accurately that any set of syllables which can be so sung is a good dochmiac foot.

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[1] Written in August, 1879.

The first and simplest deduction from this is pointed out on p. 78 of the Introduction. The middle syllable of the simple type can be omitted, the last syllable of the first iambus being held out either by the voice or the music so as to cover it. Thus we arrive at

διπλοῦς λέων διπλοῦς Ἄρης. Cho. 938.
Διὸς κόρα Δίκαν δέ νιν. Ib. 949.

each of which contains two feet. This explanation of these forms, which are of common occurrence, seems to me certain. In reading, then, as a syllable cannot be held out without the aid of a musical note, we can but make a pause after the first iambus, an inadequate expedient, and one proof out of many that to appreciate a Greek chorus fully we must imagine it sung. But if two successive feet could lack the syllable we might expect to find lines in which one foot only is so treated. I do not therefore quite see why on the same page 78 *ἔτυψεν δίκαν διφρηλάτου*, Eum. 156, is called 'a very remarkable form.' Surely it is not more remarkable than those last quoted.

Now I believe the strictest believers in antistrophic correspondence allow that in dochmiac metre the correspondence was by feet not by syllables (see Dindorf, Preface to the Poetae Scenici, edition of 1869, p. 46). Certainly the opposite view has little antecedent probability and the facts are irreconcileable with it. But if so there is no difficulty in the correspondence of *χαμαιπετεῖς*, Cho. 964, to *μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν*, ib. 954. Whatever the explanation may be I trust I have shewn that the correspondence exists; it would of course be easy to *assume* the loss of two syllables before *χαμαιπετεῖς*, but I cannot see the slightest trace of it. But both principle and fact will carry us further. Take the set of syllables *χθονὸς ἐπ' ὔχθῳ*. That they are not equivalent to *δυσαλγεῖ τύχᾳ* in total of 'longs' and 'shorts' is plain, but it is also plain, at least to me, that they can be recited or sung so as to fill equal time, the room of the first syllable of *τύχᾳ* in the complete form being filled in the defective by a pause upon the first of *ὄχθῳ*, or, which is the same thing, by 'holding the note' for the necessary time. A similar case may be found in the *Agamemnon*, 1142,

φρενομανής τις εἶ | θεοφόρητος ἀμ- |
φὶ δ' αὐτᾶς θροεῖς |
1142 νόμον ἄνομον οἷ- | ά τις ξουθὰ |
ἀκορετὸς βοᾶς,

where, it is true, the antistrophe corresponds syllabically as well as rhythmically, but if this is not generally necessary it cannot well be so in this particular form. Probably there are many such cases, but a large number of dochmiac passages in tragedy are still in such confusion that no inference can be drawn from them. We must begin where we are clear. Whether in Cho. 964 the *α* of *ἀεὶ* is long or short, I cannot decide. If long, the foot is like *-ά τις ξουθὰ* (and in this case I may observe to those who think it important it will correspond accurately to the strophe 'by resolution'), if short, like *χαμαιπετεῖς*. In 962 *ψάλιον οἴκων* is a foot like *χθονὸς ἐπ' ὄχθῳ*. The rest is regular.

But meanwhile what has become of 942—945?

ἐπολολύξατ', ὤ, δεσποσύνων δόμων
ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς
ὑπαὶ δυοῖν μιαστόροιν,
δυσοίμου τύχας.

It will be remembered that it was in search of their antistrophe that we set out, but the more we have looked the less we have found. There is however one way left. We know that the Greek dramatists sometimes repeated a strophe or part of a strophe, word for word, like a modern chorus or refrain. For examples see Eum. 778 foll. and 808 foll., Bacch. 877 foll. and 897 foll. If we look now at the four lines before us, we see that they are in meaning exactly suited to be the refrain of this ode, for they refer generally to the subject of it, the downfall of the usurpers, and yet do not touch any of the special themes belonging respectively to the four sub-divisions—Orestes, Δίκη, Apollo, and the mercenaries—so that in fact they could not be inserted in any one of them without spoiling the symmetry. Being a refrain, then, they are written as we should write them after the first 'verse' only, but are to be supplied after each of the others, as was probably indicated by some mark or stage-direction now lost. *Hinc illæ lacunæ*[1].

A. W. VERRALL.

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[1] For clearness' sake I give here the ode, as I should restore it. The division of the lines is arbitrary.

ἔμολε μὲν δίκα Πριαμίδαις χρόνῳ
βαρύδικος ποινά·
ἔμολε δ' εἰς δόμον τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος
διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς Ἄρης.
ἔδικε δ' ἐς τροπὰν
ὁ Πυθόχρηστος φυγὰς
θεόθεν εὖ φραδαῖσιν ὡρμημένος.
ἐπολολύξατ', ὦ, δεσποσύνων δόμων
ἀναφυγὰς κακῶν καὶ κτεάνων τριβᾶς
ὑπαὶ δυοῖν μιαστόροιν,
δυσοίμου τύχας.

ἔμολε δ' ᾧ μέλει κρυπταδίου μάχας
δολιόφρων ποινά.
ἔδικε δ' ἐν μάχᾳ χερὸς ἐτήτυμος
Διὸς κόρα—Δίκαν δέ νιν
προσαγορεύομεν
βροτοὶ τυχόντες καλῶς,
ὀλέθριον πνέουσαν ἐχθροῖς κότον.
ἐπολολύξατ', ὦ, κ.τ.λ.

τάνπερ ὁ Λοξίας, ὁ Παρνασίῳ
μέγαν ἔχων μυχὸν χθονὸς ἐπ' ὄχθῳ,
ᾇξ' ἀδόλως δολίαν, βλαπτομέναν χρονισθεῖσιν ἐπ' οἰκέταις, κρατεῖταί τέ πως
τὸ θεῖον τὸ μὴ ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς.
ἄξιον οὐρανοῦχον ἀρχὰν σέβειν·
πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν, μέγα τ' ἀφηρέθη ψάλιον οἴκων.
ἐπολολύξατ', ὦ, κ.τ.λ.

ἄνα γε μάν, δόμοι, πολὺν ἄγαν χρόνον
χαμαιπετεῖς ἐκεῖσθ' ἀεί,
τάχα δὲ παντελὲς χρόνος ἀμείψεται
πρόθυρα δωμάτων καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις, τύχαι δ' εὐπροσωπόκοιται τροπὰν ἰδεῖν θρεομένοις
μετοίκοις δόμων πεσοῦνται πάλιν. πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν.
ἐπολολύξατ', ὦ, κ.τ.λ.

I rely strongly upon this appropriateness of the four metrical divisions to the four divisions of the subject as shewing at least that my general theory of the distribution is right. If this be once admitted, much of the rest may be necessarily deduced from it.

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PROSPECT.

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CONTENTS.

No. XVII.

PAGE
NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES' ACHARNIANS 1—578. W. G. CLARK. (*To be continued*) 1
ON THE CHARACTER OF THE AGNATIC GUARDIANSHIP OF MINORS AND WOMEN.—Note on Gaius I, 192. PERCYVAL M. LAURENCE 24
THE STORY OF AENEAS' WANDERINGS. H. NETTLESHIP........ 29
NOTE ON THE *GRAECI ANNALES* OF FABIUS PICTOR. H. NETTLESHIP 51
ON SOME PASSAGES OF VALERIUS FLACCUS. R. ELLIS 59
PETRONIANUM. R. ELLIS 61
PROPERTIANA. J. P. POSTGATE 62
ON SOPHOCLES OEDIPUS TYRANNUS, 1337—1346. RICHARD HORTON SMITH 71
ANIMAL WORSHIP AND ANIMAL TRIBES AMONG THE ARABS AND IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. W. ROBERTSON SMITH 75
VERGILII TROIAMENTUM. AEN. V. 500—587. E. D. SIMPSON 101
A PHILOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF THE MYTH OF THE SIRENS. J. P. POSTGATE 109
ON A CHORUS OF THE CHOEPHOROE, WITH REMARKS UPON THE VERB τοπάζω AND ITS COGNATES. A. W. VERRALL 114

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL NOTE.
Δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων and δίκαι συμβόλαιαι. By W. W. GOODWIN.
TWO GERMAN SCHOLARS ON ONE OF GOETHE'S MASQUERADES. By FRANKLIN CARTER.
GEDDES' PROBLEM OF THE HOMERIC POEMS. By L. R. PACKARD.
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(*continued from* Vol. IX. p. 23).

393. *ἄρα μοι*] *ἆρα μοι* Rav., *ἆρα* Elmsley conj. Rav. reads also *καρτερᾶν ψυχῆν*.

395. ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ] In Rav. and the earlier MSS. no speaker's name is given here, but Pal. 1, Pal. 2 have *κηφισοφῶν*. The scholiast also says *ὑπακούει κηφισοφῶν*. The scholiast on *Ranæ* 975 says that Cephisophon being Euripides' slave helped him particularly in his *μέλη*. But as Elmsley says no slave would have borne the truly Attic name of Cephisophon. To the next line *θε.*, i.e. *θεραπων*, is prefixed in Rav. (not noticed by former collators).

ib. *τίς οὗτος*] *τί οὗτος* Rav.

396. *οὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον ἐστίν*] Reisig proposed *κοὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον τ' ἐστίν*, Cobet *οὐκ εὔδον ὢν ἐστ' ἔνδον*, Meineke *ἔνδον τε κοὐκ ἐστ' ἔνδον*, or *οὐκ ἔνδον ἔνδον τ' ἐστίν*. I see no reason for altering words which the author studiously makes as unintelligible as he can. He exaggerates the enigmatical phraseology of which Euripides was so fond, e.g. Admetus says of his wife, *ἔστιν τε κοὐκέτ' ἔστιν*, Alcestis 521.

397. *εἶτ'*] *εἶγ'* Dobree conj.

398. *ξυλλέγων*] *συλλέγων* Laur. 1, Pal. 1, and Suidas.

ib. *ἐπύλλια*] *τὰ 'πύλλια* Mod. 1, *τὰ πύλλια* Amb. 1.

399. *οὐκ*] *κουκ* Rav.

ib. *ποιεῖ*] *ποεῖ* Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1. *ποιεῖν* and *ποεῖν* are written indifferently in all the earlier MSS. where the metre requires the first syllable to be short. For instance, Rav. has *ποιεῖ* here and *ποεῖς* 410, 411.

400. *τραγῳδίαν*] The later scholiast and Aldus read *τρυγῳδίαν.* Suidas s.v. *αὐτὸς* reads *τραγῳδίας.*

401. *ὅθ'*] i.e. *ὅτε,* 'now that.' Cf. line 647 and Nubes 7, 34.

ib. *οὑτωσὶ*] Pal. 1 and Ald. *οὑτοσὶ* Rav. and the rest.

ib. *σοφῶς*] Rav. *σαφῶς* the rest.

ib. *ὑποκρίνεται*] Rav. *ἀπεκρίνατο* the rest.

402. *ἐκκάλεσον*] *ἀλλ' ἐκκάλεσον* Rav.

404. Meineke proposes to complete the line by adding *ὦ Εὐριπίδη.*

405. *πώποτ'*] *δήποτ'* Pal. 1, Ald. *ποτ'* Pal. 2 and Suidas s.v. *εἴπερ.*

ib. *ἀνθρώπων*] *ἀνθρώπω* Pal. 1.

406. For *καλεῖ σε χ.* Brunck proposed *καλεῖ σ' ὁ χ.*, and Cobet, followed by Meineke, *καλῶ σ' ὁ χ.* No change is necessary if the line be properly punctuated. Elmsley first wrote *χολλείδης* for *χολλίδης* on the authority of inscriptions. An inscription containing this word, found in a cave on the western slope of Hymettus about six miles from Athens, fixes the place of this deme. Elmsley adds, 'ex hoc loco non male conjeceris Euripidis *δημότην* fuisse Dicæopolidem: sed ille, nescio quam vere, ab Harpocratione Phlyensis fuisse dicitur.' Dic. mentions his deme as a proof of his respectability.

407, 408. Dobree calls in question the genuineness of these lines, which partly anticipate 409 and partly repeat 402. Pal. 1 omits *ἀλλ' οὐ σχολή.*

408. *ἐκκυκλήθητ'*] Laur. 2. *ἐκκϋκλήθητι* Rav. *ἐκκυκλήσει τι* Laur. 1. *ἐγκυκλήσει τι* Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1. Rav.

prefixes *θε.* (i.e. *θεράπων*) to the line, reading the whole thus: *θε. ἀλλ' ἐκκῦκλήθητι: ἀλλ' ἀθδύνατον· ἀλλ' ὅμως.* The writer being about to write *ἀθάνατον* checked himself and struck the *θ* through.

409. *ἐκκυκλήσομαι*] In Rav. *σομαι* is written by the writer of the Scholia over an erasure. Perhaps it was originally *ἐκκυκλήθητι. ἐγκυκλήσομαι* Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1.

410. *ἀναβάδην*] *ἀναβάσιν* Pal. 2.

411. *ἐξὸν...ποιεῖς*] This line is omitted altogether, and the subsequent lines arranged in the following order: 414, 412, 413, in Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1.

The line is found and the right order retained in Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Pal. 2, and Aldine. In Rav. 411 is written thus: *ἐξὸν κατάβην, οὐκ ετωσ πτοχουσ μονουσ ποεῖσ. μονουσ* has been dotted above and below, a mark of error.

412. *τί τὰ ῥάκι'*] *τί ταράκι'* Rav. *τί ρἀκι'* Pal. 2. *ἀτάρ τι ῥάκιον* Reisk conj. *τάδε ῥάκι'* Thiersch conj. *τί τὰ ῥακι'*; *ἢ 'κ τρ. ἐχ. ἐ. ἐλεεινήν*; Bergk conj. *ἀτὰρ τί*; *τὰ ῥάκι'* Müller, Schutz conj.

413. *ἐλεεινήν*] Elmsley, at Porson's suggestion, wrote *ἐλεινήν*, as the word is always trisyllabic in Attic verse. Rav. reads *ἐλεεινοὶ* Ranæ 1063. The second epsilon would be absorbed, or rather, have the sound of our *y*, as in *θεῶν*. There is no stop after *ἐλεείνην* in the earlier MSS.

ib. *οὐκ ἐτὸς πτωχοὺς*] *οὐκετὸς πτωχοὺς* Rav. In Par. 1 *οὐκ ἐτὸς πτωχοὺς* is omitted and space left. *οὐκὲ τοὺς χωλοὺς* Mod. 1, Par. 1, Par. 2, Par. 3. *οὐκετοὺς χωλους* Laur. 1, Amb. 1. *οὐκ ἐτὸς χωλοὺς* Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Pal. 2. Bentley saw that *πτωχοὺς* must be read here before it was found in the Rav. MS.

414. *σ'*] Omitted in Par. 1, Mod. 1.

415. *τί του*] Reisig. *τι τοῦ* MSS. Meineke and Müller have adopted *τί του*, which is unquestionably the right reading. I made this conjecture long ago, not knowing that it had been anticipated. Had Dic. meant '*the* old play' he would have said '*the* rags.' A marginal scholion in Rav. explains *τοῦ π. δρ.* by *τοῦ τηλέφου.* The Telephus had indeed been frequently

alluded to previously, lines 8, 331 sqq. It was first represented 438 B.C. as one of a tetralogy with the Cressæ, Alcmæon and Alcestis, and was therefore 13 years old. It is again alluded to in the Nubes 922, *καίτοι πρότερόν γ' ἐπτώχευες* Τήλεφος *εἶναι* Μυσὸς *φάσκων*. It may have been recently 'revived' as the phrase is either at the Dionysiac theatre or at that of Piræus. The grammarians make no mention of such repetitions except by special decree in favour of Æschylus' plays, but it is hardly likely that the Athenians would have denied themselves the pleasure of seeing a second representation of a popular play. Of course no mention of such repetition would be made in the *διδασκαλίαι*.

417. *φέρει*] *φερῃ* Par. 1, Laur. 1, Mod. 1.

418. *ἐν*] Omitted in Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1, and Pal. 2, which also has *ὁσὶ* and *γαιραίος*.

ib. *ὁδὶ*] 'Euripides digito monstrat volumen quod continet partes Oenei.' Müller. I rather imagine that he is surrounded by lay figures representing his own creations, dressed not in fine clothes but rags.

Laur. 1 reads *καὶ δύσπο*$\overset{\mu}{\tau}$*ος γηραιὸς ἤγ.*

420. *οὐκ*] *ἀλλ' οὐκ* Laur. 2.

ib. *ἀθλιωτέρου*] *ἀθλιωτέρα* Pal. 2. Seager conjectured *οὐκ* Οἰνέως· *ἀλλ' ἦν ἔτ' ἀθλιώτερα*. As the accent is unchanged, *ἀθλιωτέρα* in Pal. 2 is probably a slip of the pen.

421. *τοῦ*] Omitted in Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1.

423. *ποθ' ἀνὴρ*] *ποθ' ἅνὴρ* Elmsley. *ποθ' ἁνὴρ* Rav. Laur. 1, Pal. 2. *ποτ' ἀνὴρ* Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1, Pal. 1, which at first had omitted the line. *πότ' ἀνὴρ* Aldus.

ib. *λακίδας*] *λακείδας* Laur. 1, Par. 1, Pal. 1, Pal. 2.

ib. *πέπλων*] *πέπλον* Laur. 1. *πλέον* Amb. 1. *γέρων πεπλῶν* Pal. 1. *πεπλωμάτων* Suidas.

424. *ἀλλ' ἤ*] Laur. 1. *ἀλλὴ* Rav. *ἀλλ' ἦ* Par. 1, Pal. 1, Ald., &c., and Elmsley.

425. *πολὺ πολὺ*] Rav., Pal. 1, Pal. 2, Ald. *πολὺ* the rest. Pal. 1 has *πτωχισθέρου*.

426. Continued to Dic. in Rav.

ib. *ἀλλ' ἦ*] Par. 1. *ἀλλ' ῆ* Rav. *ἀλλ' ἦ* Laur. 1.

428. *ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἦν*] *ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἦν* Laur. 1. *ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνος ἦν* Bergk conj. Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1 have *χωλὸς* at the end of this line as well as at the beginning of the next.

429. *δεινὸς λέγειν*] Omitted in Rav.

430. *ναὶ Τήλεφον*] Continued to Eur. in Rav., Par. 1.

431. *τούτου*] *τοῦτον* Laur. 1, Mod. 1.

433. *κεῖται*] *κεῖνται* Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1.

434. *μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰνοῦς*] Blaydes suggests taking *ἄνωθεν* adverbially and reading *Ἰνοῦς τ'*. But there is no doubt of the correctness of the text. 'They lie above the rags of Thyestes between them and those of Ino.' Compare Aves 187, *ἐν μέσῳ δήπουθεν ἀήρ ἐστι γῆς*, 'the air, you know, is between the gods and earth.' We may compare the use of 'entre-sol' 'between the main floor and the ground.'

ib. *Ἰνοῦς*] *Οἰνέος* Par. 1. Compare Vespæ 1414, *Ἰνοῖ κρεμαμένη, πρὸς ποδῶν Εὐριπίδου.* We can scarcely take this for a fact. Ino was probably represented, like Andromeda, hanging from a rope which tied the wrists together.

ib. *Θεραπων. ἰδοὺ ταυτί. Ευρ. λαβέ*] Rav. puts the mark of a new speaker (:) after *Ἰνοῦς* and after *ταυτί*.

Pal. 1 and Ald. give the three words to *θε.* (i.e. *θεράπων*). In Pal. 2 a space is left after *Ινους*. These words are usually given to Cephisophon; Bergk, Meineke, Müller continue them to Euripides. In a doubtful case I follow the trace of the highest authority. The words *ἰδοὺ ταυτί* seem appropriate to the servant who is searching the wardrobe.

436. This line is inclosed in brackets by Dindorf and others on the ground that it is merely a repetition of line 384, and therefore spurious. To me it seems perfectly genuine. The speaker, looking down a rent and through a hole of the ragged garment as he invokes Zeus with appropriate attributes, repeats his former words, implying that his wish is completely fulfilled. The jest consists (as many jests do) in the repetition.

437. *'πειδήπερ ἐχαρίσω*] Bentley. *ἐπειδήπερ ἐχαρίσω μοι* Rav., Mod. 1. *'πειδήπερ ἐχαρίσω μοι* Par. 1. *ἐπειδὴ περιχαρίσω μοι* Laur. 1, Pal. 1. *ἐπειδήπερ γ' ἐχαρίσω μοι* Laur. 2, Par. 2.

440, 441. These two lines, says the scholiast, are from the *Telephus*. But the word *τημερον* and the long syllable before the closing cretic are equally rare in tragedy, and so far as we know the story of Telephus he had no need to disguise himself. For the time he was really as miserable as he seemed. The scholion is not found in Rav. and is doubtless wrong.

441. *ὅσπερ*] Suidas. *ὥσπερ* MSS. Most edd., following Brunck, have adopted *ὅσπερ*, which was very likely to be corrupted to the more familiar *ὥσπερ*.

442. *ὅς*] Pal. 1, Ald. *ὅστι* Pal. 2. *ὅστις* the rest. Blaydes proposes *εἰδέν' ὅστις εἴμ' ἐγώ*, objecting to the repetition of the pronoun *με, ἐγώ*. But see note on line 201. Translate not 'who *I* am' but 'who I *really* am.' See line 118.

445. *λεπτὰ*] Pal. 1, Pal. 2, a recent correction in Laur. 1, Ald. *λεπταῖ* Rav., Laur. 1. Originally most of the others have *λεπτᾶ*.

446. This line also is said by the later scholiast to be imitated from one of the Telephus: *καλῶς ἔχοιμι*, Τηλέφῳ *δ' ἁγὼ φρονῶ*. Athenæus v. p. 186 c makes Arcesilaus quote it thus: *εὖ σοι γένοιτο*, Τηλέφῳ *δ' ἁγὼ νοῶ*, without saying from what author. Brunck introduces the line as given in Athenæus into the text. Meineke, retaining *φρονῶ*, reads *εὖ σοι γένοιτο*. For my part I do not believe that any part of the line comes from the Telephus. The expression Τηλέφῳ *δ' ἁγὼ φρονῶ*, or *νοῶ*, is colloquial. Both this line and the two former, 440, 441, should be struck out of the collected fragments of Euripides. I see no objection to the repetition of *εὐδαιμονοίης*, line 452.

447. *οἷον*] *οἵων* Rav., Amb. 1.

ib. *ἐμπίπλαμαι*] Rav. *ἐμπίμπλαμαι* [the rest].

448. *ἀτὰρ*] *αὐτὰρ* Rav.

ib. *γε*] *καὶ* Laur. 2, Ald. *καὶ τοῦ* Pal. 1. Omitted in Pal. 2.

450. *ὡς*] *ὧν* originally in Laur. 1. Corrected by an early hand.

ib. *ἀπωθοῦμαι*] *ἀποθοῦμαι* Rav.

452. *λιπαρῶν τ'. Εὐριπίδη*] So corrected in Rav. by the scholiast; originally, *λιπαρῶν τ' Εὐριπίδην*, which is the reading of Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1. In Laur. 1 and Barb. 1 we have *λιπαρὼν τ' εὐρι*ˇ. In Pal. 1 *λιπαρῶν τ' εὐριπίδη*. In Pal. 2 *λιπαρῶν τ', εὐριπίδη*. Bentley proposed *λιπαρῶν. Εὐριπίδη* or *ὦ Εὐριπίδη*.

454. Here again the later scholiast has invented a line for the Telephus. Unfortunately he has betrayed himself by putting a spondee in the sixth place, *τί δ' ὦ τάλας σὺ τῷδε πείθεσθαι μέλλεις*;

ib. *σε*] Laur. 2, as Bentley had conjectured. All the rest have *γε*. Pal. 1 *θάλας γὲ* (sic).

455. *ὅμως*] So corrected in Rav. by the scholiast, the original being doubtful.

ib. *λαβεῖν*] *λαλεῖν* Par. 1.

456. Compare Eurip. Helena 452, *ὀχληρὸς ἴσθ' ὢν, καὶ τάχ' ὠσθήσει βίᾳ*. The dialogue between Dicæopolis and Euripides strongly resembles that between Menelaus and the old woman. We have evidence however that the Helena was not produced till the year 412, the year before the Thesmophoriazusæ. Euripides in his later years perhaps imitated himself.

458. *μὴ ἀλλά*] I follow the MSS. and earlier edd. in writing the two words separately rather than, with Dindorf, &c., *μἀλλά*.

459. *κοτυλίσκιον...ἀποκεκρουμένον*] So quoted by Athenæus, according to the best MSS., XI. p. 479 B. Brunck first restored *κοτυλίσκιον* to Aristophanes, and Elmsley *ἀποκεκρουμένον*. The MSS. of Aristophanes have *κυλίσκιον...ἀποκεκρουσμένον* (except Pal. 1, *κύλισκον*). Suidas gives *κυλίκιον*, and Brunck suggests *κυλίχνιον*, comparing Equit. 906. In Rav. the writer was about to write *τεῖχος* for *χεῖλος*, but checked himself.

460. *φθείρου*] Rav. *φέρου* the rest.

ib. *τόδ'· ἴσθ' ὀχ.*] *τόδ' ἴσθι δ' ὀχ.* Rav. *ταῦτ' ὀχ.* Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1. (In Laur. 1 *ἴσθι* is added above by an early corrector.) *λαβὼν ταῦτ' ἴσθ' ὀχ.* the rest and Ald. Elmsley suggests *ἴθι δ'* for *ἴσθι δ'*.

461. Meineke, following Bothe, punctuates thus: *οὔπω μὰ Δί· οἶσθ'...κακά* (i.e. *οὔπω ἄπειμι*). But then we should also put a note of interrogation after *κακά*. The ordinary punctuation is intelligible, 'You do not yet know all my need of your help and the evil you are doing by refusing it.' Λείπει Μὴ δούς says the earlier scholiast. The interpretations of the later are absurd.

462. *τουτὶ μόνον*] Ald. *μόνον τουτί* Rav., Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, &c. *μόνον τόδὶ* (sic) Pal. 2. Perhaps we should read *μόνον*—ΕΥΡ. *τὸ τί;*

463. *σπογγίῳ*] Rav., Amb. 1, corrected. *σφογγίῳ* Par. 1, Mod. 1, originally, Laur. 1, &c. *σπογγιᾷ* Suidas. *σπογγίᾳ* Bergk conj. Probably the common form *σπ.* was altered to *σφ.* in obedience to the ultra Atticism of the grammarians, Gregory of Corinth, &c.

464. *ἄνθρωπ'*] So all MSS. Changed by Elmsley unnecessarily to *ὦ 'νθρωπ'*.

ib. *ἀφαιρήσει*] *ἀφαιρήσεη* Mod. 1. *ἀφαιρήσεις* Par. 1.

465. *ταυτηνὶ*] sc. *τὴν χύτραν*.

468. *τουτὶ*] *ταυτὶ*], an error of the press in Brunck's ed., repeated by Bekker.

470. *σοι. φροῦδά μοι*] *σοι φροῦδα* Rav. (omitting *μοι*).

471. The second *ἀλλ'* is omitted in Amb. 1,

472. *με κοιράνους*] Laur. 1, &c., Ald. *γε τυράννους* Rav. *γε κοίρανος* Par. 1. *μοι κοιράνους* Amb. 1. *με κοιράννους* Pal. 2. Elmsley read *ὀχληρὸς οὖν, δοκῶν γε κ.*, but *οὖν* is awkward after *ἄγαν*. Perhaps we should read *καὶ γὰρ εἴμ' ἄγαν ὀχληρὸς, οὐ δοκῶν γε, κοιράνοις στυγεῖν.* If the text be right, translate, 'not thinking that princes hate me.' Dic. pays a double compliment to Euripides by quoting his poetry and applying the term *κοίρανος* to him. This is no doubt a quotation from some play of Euripides. The audience, remembering the context, would see the application better than we do.

473, 474. These two lines are given to Euripides in Rav. In Pal. 1, Pal. 2, Ald., &c. *ἐπελαθόμην...πράγματα* are given to Euripides.

475. *ὦ γλυκύτατον καὶ φίλτατον*] Elmsley. *γλυκύτατον καὶ φιλτάτιον* Rav. *γλυκύτατον ὦ φιλτάτιον* the rest and Ald. *φιλτάτιον* is also recognized by Suidas. Bentley proposed *γλυκύτατον, ὦ φιλαίτατον.* Bothe reads *γλυκύτατον ὦ καὶ φίλτατον.* It is difficult to account for the persistence of the MSS. in retaining a vox nihili like *φιλτάτιον* in place of so common a word as *φίλτατον.*

478. Compare Æsc. Choeph. 750, *ὃν ἐξέθρεψα μητρόθεν δεδεγμένη.* These words occur in a *ῥῆσις*, which most of the audience probably knew by heart.

479. *ἁνὴρ*] *ἅνὴρ* Elmsley. *ὡ̃νὴρ* Brunck. *ἀνὴρ* MSS.

ib. *ὑβρίζει*] *ὑβρίβει* (or *ὑβρίκει* ?) Rav.

ib. *κλειὲ*] *κλῆε* Meineke.

ib. *πηκτὰ*] Brunck, with Scaliger and Valckenaer, reads *πακτά.* Both forms were probably used by the Tragedians, but we have no sufficient data for determining such niceties.

480. *θύμ'*] *θῦμ'* Rav.

ib. *ἐμπορευτέα*] *εὐπορευτέα* Par. 1, Amb. 1, and originally Laur. 1, Mod. 1. *ἐκπορευτέα* Bentley and Dawes. *ἐμπορεύεσθαι* is used in a special sense like our word 'travel'. Compare *ἐμπορευόμενοι,* Thucyd. VII. 13 sub fin. So *ἔμπορος*, 'a travelling merchant'. There is probably a special reference to this passage in the Equites (produced the following year), lines 18, 19, *κομψευριπικῶς...μὴ διασκανδικίσῃς.* Hesychius says that Euripides was called *σκανδικοπώλης* (doubtless by the comic poets), his mother having been a herb-seller. Notwithstanding the difference of quantity between *θῡμὸς* and *θύμος*, a pun may have been intended.

481. *ἆρ'*] *ἄρ'* Rav.

ib. *ἀγωνιεῖ*] *ἀγωνιῇ* Par. 1. *ἀγωνιεῖ*, with *ῇ* superscribed, Mod. 1.

483. *πρόβαινέ νυν*] Elmsley. *πρόβαινε νῦν* MSS. Elmsley

also first wrote *νυν* as enclitic, line 485. The MSS. almost invariably write *νῦν*, as in lines 490, 494.

ib. *αὑτηί*] Laur. 1, Mod. 1. *αὐτηί* Rav., Par. 1, Pal. 1, Pal. 2.

486. *κᾷτα*] *κατὰ* Laur. 1, Par. 1, Par. 3, Pal. 2.

487. *εἰποῦσ'*] Blaydes proposes *εἰπέθ'* or *εἰπεῖν*, Hamaker *εἰπέθ'*. No change is needed. He puts his head on the block to be cut off if they please, *after* they have heard his speech. After *ἄν* the writer of Rav. has written *σ'* and then struck it through.

ib. *δοκῇ*] So corrected by the same hand in Rav., originally *δοκεῖ*, which is the reading of Par. 1, Laur. 1, Pal. 2, Ald., &c. *δοκοῖ* Laur. 2, Par. 2. *δοκῇ* Mod. 1, Pal. 1, and Amb. 1, originally corrected *δοκεῖ*. Elmsley proposes *ἅττα καὐτῇ σοι δοκεῖ*.

488. I put a full stop at *χώρησον*. There is a full stop or colon, for the two are not distinguished, in Rav. He succeeds in screwing his courage to the sticking-place and exclaims, *ἄγαμαι καρδίας*, 'I'm proud of my heart'. Compare for the construction Aves 1744, *ἄγαμαι δὲ λόγων*, and Eur. Rhesus 245, *ἄγαμαι λήματος*. Dawes and Brunck read *ἄγ', ἐμὴ καρδία*. Porson *ἄγαμαι, καρδία*, the one an unfortunate, the other an unnecessary change.

489, 490. This line is written thus in Rav.: *τί δράσεις· τί φήσεις· ἴσθι νῦν*, and so substantially all the MSS. Elmsley, following a conjecture of Hermann's, inserted *ἀλλ'* before *ἴσθι*. Meineke suggests *εὖ*. But even so the second dochmiac is defective, and the line does not correspond to 494. I venture to read *τί δράσει; τί φήσει; ἀλλ' ἴσθι νυν*. So in line 494 Dic. is first spoken of in the third person, and then spoken to in the second. Before line 494 there is a dash indicating a new speaker in Rav., and it is attributed to *ἡμίχορος* in Par. 1 and others. Elmsley gives lines 490—493 also to a semichorus. I think they were probably spoken 'dispersedly' thus: *χορευτὴς α. τί...φήσει; κορυφαῖος. ἀλλ'...τἀναντία. χορευτὴς β. ἀνὴρ...πρᾶγμ'. κορυφαῖος. εἶά...λέγε.*

491. Pal. 1 omits *ὧν σιδηροῦς τ' ἀνὴρ* and the whole of line 493.

493. *ἅπασι*] *ἅπασιν* Rav.

ib. *εἶς*] *εἰς* Par. 1, and *εἰς* originally in Laur 1.

494. *ἀνὴρ*] MSS. *ἁ 'νὴρ* Elmsley. The metre requires the first syllable to be short. Before words in familiar use the Greeks frequently omit the article where the sense would seem to require it. Compare 430, *οἶδ' ἄνδρα,* where we should have expected *τὸν ἄνδρα.* Also Nubes 608, *'Αθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις.*

ib. *τρέμει*] *τρεῖ* Brunck conj.

ib. *πρᾶγμ'*] *πρᾶγμα* Rav.

ib. *εἶά νυν*] *εἶα νῦν* Rav. *ἔα νῦν* Par. 1. *εἶα νῦν* or *εἶα νῦν* the rest. Brunck first printed *εἶά νυν,* but in his notes preferred *εἶα νῦν.* He is in error when he says that this is the reading of all MSS.

495. *αἰρεῖ*] Laur. 1, Mod. 1. *αἱρεῖ* Rav. *αἱρῇ* Par. 1.

ib. *λέγε*] Rav. *λέγειν* the rest and Suidas s.v. *αἱρῇ.* Suidas has also *ἐπείπερ.*

496 sqq. The scholiast quotes two lines from the Telephus,

μή μοι φθονήσητ' ἄνδρες 'Ελλήνων ἀκροὶ
εἰ πτωχὸς ὢν τέτληκ' ἐν ἐσθλοῖσιν λέγειν.

The first of these is quoted also in a passage of Alexis, given by Athenæus xv. p. 691 F, though it is difficult to see its connection with what precedes and follows. The two lines given by our scholiast are probably genuine although they are not found in Rav. The later scholia are of very unequal value and doubtless by several hands. The speech of Dicæopolis is doubtless a parody throughout of a famous *ῥῆσις* in the *Telephus,* in which he pleaded his cause before the Greek chieftains. These *ῥήσεις* were recited at banquets, even, it would seem, after a family dinner (see Nubes 1365, 1371), so the audience was able to follow and appreciate the parody.

496. *οἱ*] *ὦ* Rav.

499, 500. *τρυγῳδίαν ... τρυγῳδία*] So Rav. In Laur. 1 *τρυγῳδίαν* has been altered to *τραγῳδίαν* by a late corrector, and *τρυγῳδία,* omitted by the first writer, was inserted by an early corrector. *τραγῳδίαν...τραγῳδία* Par. 1. *τραγῳδίαν... τρυγῳδία* Mod. 1. Brunck reads *χ' ἡ τρυγῳδία.*

500. *οἶδε*] *οἶ δε* Rav. (with erasure between).

502. *νῦν γε*] Rav. *νῦν* Laur. 1, Mod. 1, Par. 1, Amb. 1, Pal. 2. *καὶ νῦν* Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Par. 2, Par. 3, Ald. Dindorf gives *νῦν γε* as the reading of Laur. 1 (his Δ), but it really has *νῦν*, and so the Barberini copied from it. It is clear that *γε* was accidentally omitted and *καὶ νῦν* a conjectural emendation.

503. *τὴν πόλιν*] Elmsley quotes Xenoph. De Rep. Athen. II. 18, *κωμῳδεῖν δ' αὖ καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν μὲν δῆμον οὐκ ἐῶσιν κ.τ.λ.* An aggrieved individual could only get the comic poet punished on the protest that he had transgressed the law by bringing 'hatred and contempt' upon the constitution of the state.

504, 505. It would appear that at the Lenæan festival *μέτοικοι* were excluded but strangers admitted, since the reason given for no strangers being present is that none as yet had arrived in Athens, winter being scarcely past. The *Λήναιον* was a large precinct surrounding a temple in the valley on the S. Eastern side of the acropolis close to the Dionysiac theatre, where the plays were performed. The sacrifices and other ceremonies would take place in and before the temple of Dionysus Lenæus. Hence *ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών.*

508. *τοὺς...λέγω*] Meineke, following Valckenaer, omits this line; a too facile method of solving a difficulty. See the preceding note. The Oxford MS. of Suidas reads *κριθῶν* for *ἀστῶν*, clearly putting a gloss in the text.

509. *ἐγὼ δὲ*] *ἔγωγε* Brunck.

ib. *μὲν*] *μὲν τοὺς* Rav.

510. *καὐτοῖς*] *καὐτὸς* Mod. 1, Ald.

ib. *ὁ Ποσειδῶν*] *Ποσειδῶν* Bothe. The great earthquake, *ὁ μέγας σεισμός*, as it was still called, of 466 B.C. had been recalled to the remembrance of the Athenians by its being made the occasion of a diplomatic retort, Thucyd. I. 128, 133. Earthquakes in general, and this earthquake in particular, were attributed to Poseidon, whom Aristophanes calls *γῆς τε καὶ ἁλμυρᾶς θαλάσσης ἄγριον μοχλευτήν* (Nubes 567).

512. *ἔστιν ἀμπέλια κεκομμένα*] *ἔστιν ἀμπέλια διακεκομμένα* Rav. The *δια* has come probably from the previous word

ΛΙΑ, ΔΙΑ. Suidas has *παρακεκομμένα*, derived from 517. *ἔστ' ἀμπέλια παρακεκομμένα* Bentley conj. *ἔστ' ἀμπέλια διακεκομμένα* Bergk conj. *ἔστι τἀμπέλια κεκομμένα* (Müller, Meineke conj.). I wonder no one has suggested *ἀμπέλι' ἐκκεκομμένα*. But no change is needed. Laur. 1 had at first *κομμένα* (*κε* being added by a later hand.

513. Compare *ὦνδρες οἱ παρόντες ἐν λόγῳ*, Aves 30.

515. *οὐχὶ*] *κοὐχὶ* Rav.

516. The line is omitted in Mod. 1, Amb. 1.

ib. *τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐχὶ*] Pal. 2, Par. 3, and so corrected early in Laur. 1, Barb. 1. *τοῦτ' ὅτι οὐχὶ* Rav. *τοῦτ' οὐχὶ* Par. 1. *τοῦθ' ὅτ' οὐχὶ* Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Par. 2, Ald.

518. *παράξενα*] Formed on the analogy of *παράσημα*. It must however mean, not as it has been translated 'falsely-alien', but 'aliens falsely pretending to be citizens', 'disguised aliens'.

519. *χλανίσκια*] Hamaker would read *κανίσκια*, a word quoted by Pollux from the Gerutades of our author, Arist. Fragments 208. But the text is undoubtedly genuine. Compare Xenoph. Mem. II. 7. 6, *Μεγαρέων οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀπὸ ἐξωμιδοποιίας διατρέφονται*. The mountains near Megara afforded abundant pasturage of sheep. Wool was therefore cheap. The cloaks were of a common kind, the same as those mentioned in Pax 1002, *δούλοισι χλανισκιδίων μικρῶν*, among the goods which peace would allow to be imported.

520. *ἴδοιεν*] Rav., Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1. *εἶδεν* Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Pal. 2, Par. 2, with *εἴδειεν* written above, Par. 3, Ald., &c. The true reading is recognized by Suidas, s.v. *σίκυον*. Had Bentley known this, he would scarcely have proposed *γε σίκυον εἶδεν* or *σίκυον ἂν εἶδεν*.

521. *χόνδρους ἅλας*] Elmsley, quoting Phœnix from Athenæus VIII. p. 359 E, *χἄλα λήψεται χόνδρον*. We have *χονδρὰς ἅλας* in Rav., *χόνδρους ἀλός*, or *ἁλός*, in the rest. There are still extensive salt pits by the sea-shore near Megara, as in Pliny's time; see Nat. Hist. XXXI. 7.

522. *κἀπέπρατ'*] Amb. 1 and Mod. 1; corrected, *κἀπέπραθ'* Rav., Pal. 1, Pal. 2. *κἀπέπραχθ'* Par. 1, Laur. 1 and Mod. 1 originally, I think.

Lines 524—527, *πόρνην...δύο*, are quoted also by Plutarch, Pericles, c. 30, where the MSS. read Ἀσπασίᾳ. Plutarch says that the Megarians in after times used these verses, *τοῖς περιβοήτοις καὶ δημώδεσι τούτοις ἐκ τῶν* Ἀχαρνέων *στιχιδίοις*, to rid themselves of the blame of the war.

524. Σιμαίθαν] *σημαίθαν* Par. 1, Laur. 1. This and the five following lines are quoted by Athenæus XIII. p. 570 A. With regard to Aspasia, compare what he says just before p. 569 F with Plutarch's Pericles, c. 24. See also Grote, History of Greece, VI. 132. The comic poets came in time to be venerated as ancients, and the later Greek writers accepted their reckless statements as sober truth.

525. *μεθυσοκότταβοι*] *μεθυσσοκότταβοι* Rav. and a Bodleian MS. of Plutarch. There were several varieties of the game *κότταβος*, with which people amused themselves at drinking parties, described at length by Athenæus, XV. pp. 665 E—668 E, and by the scholiast on Arist. Pax 343. The scholion on Pax 1243 is evidently taken from Athenæus. Schweighäuser, note to Athenæus 666 B, is in error when he says that Musurus inserted portions of Athenæus in the scholia, since these scholia are found in the Venetian MS. of Aristophanes of the 11th century. The *κότταβος* is appropriately introduced here since the lovers drew from it auguries as to their success, *καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐκχυθῆ, ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου, ἐνίκα καὶ ᾕδει ὅτι φιλεῖται αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρωμένης· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἡττᾶτο*, Schol. Pax 343. And again, Euripides in the Pleisthenes, quoted by Athenæus, p. 668 B, *πολὺς δὲ κοσσάβων ἀραγμὸς Κύπριδος* | *προσῳδὸν ἀχεῖ μέλος ἐν δόμοισιν*.

526. *κᾆθ'*] *κάθ'* Rav. *εἶθ'* the MSS. of Athenæus, except one.

ib. Μεγαρῆς] Here and elsewhere the MSS. vary between *μεγαρῆς*, *μεγαρεῖς* and *μεγαρης*. Rav. has consistently *μεγαρῆς*.

527. *πόρνα*] *πόρνας* Rav. and Athenæus. This error led the scholiast to take Ἀσπασίας for the accusative plural.

528. *κἀντεῦθεν*] *κἀκεῖθεν* Athenæus, which may be right as *ἐντεῦθεν* follows so close, 530.

ib. ἀρχὴ] ἁρχὴ (i.e. ἡ ἀρχὴ) Dobree conj., adopted by Meineke; a probable, but not certain, emendation.

529. Ἕλλησι] ἕλλησιν Rav.

530. οὑλύμπιος] οὐλύμπιος Rav. ὀλύμπιος Par. 1, and originally Laur. 1, Mod. 1 (corrected in both οὑλ.). Pericles was familiarly compared to Olympian Zeus by the comic poets. So Cratinus (as quoted by Plutarch, Pericles 24) called Aspasia, Hera. As she was also called the new Omphale and Deianeira, we learn that Pericles was also compared to Hercules.

531. ἤστραπτεν] ἤστραπτ', as quoted by Pliny Ep. I. 20. So Bentley would have read, and so Dindorf, ed. 1851, Blaydes, Meineke, Ribbeck and Müller read, to make the line more weighty by the tragic rhythm. To me the fuller form ἤστραπτεν is preferable, owing to the pause which the speaker would naturally make between the words. In making a quotation from memory the tendency is to substitute the more familiar rhythm of the tragic senarius for that of the comic. This passage is alluded to by Cicero, Orator, IX. 29, 'Pericles...ab Aristophane poeta fulgere tonare permiscere Græciam dictus'. Cicero had attributed it to Eupolis by mistake. In a letter to Atticus, whose librarii were engaged in making copies of the Orator, he requests him to substitute Aristophanes, Ep. ad Atticum XII. 6. Diodorus also assigned the passage to Eupolis, whose description of Pericles in the Δῆμοι (quoted by our scholiast) gave rise to the mistake.

ib. τὴν] θ' Mod. 1, Amb. 1.

532. ὥσπερ σκόλια] Especial reference is made to a σκόλιον of Timocreon of Rhodes, quoted by the scholiast and Suidas, ὤφελες [γ'] ὦ τυφλὲ πλοῦτε, | μήτε γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ, | μήτ' ἐν ἠπείρῳ φανήμεν', | ἀλλὰ Τάρταρόν τε ναίειν | κἀχέροντα, διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ' | [ἔστ'] ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά. I read φανήμεν' for φανήμεναι (not φανῆναι), and have inserted conjecturally γ' and ἔστ' for the sake of the metre.

Timocreon was an athlete, a satirical poet, and, in his latter days, I suppose, a sensualist. The evil that he did lives after him in the epitaph quoted by Athenæus X. p. 415 F, πολλὰ *πιὼν καὶ πολλὰ φαγὼν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ' εἰπὼν | ἀνθρώπους κεῖμαι* Τιμοκρέων 'Ρόδιος. The *ψήφισμα* was doubtless so worded as to leave no possible loophole for the Megarians. Its substance is given in Thucyd. I. 139, *ψήφισμα...ἐν ᾧ εἴρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ* 'Αθηναίων *ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ* [query *μηδέ τινι ἐν τῇ*] 'Αττικῇ *ἀγορᾷ*. Compare also Plutarch, Pericles, c. 29.

533. *μήτε γῇ*] Bentley. *μήτ' ἐν γῇ* all MSS., except Pal. 1, which has *μήτ' ἐρτῇ*. So the *σκόλιον* is quoted in the scholiast and Suidas. The same mistake is made by the MSS. Equit. 610, *μήτε γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ*, where Rav., Laur. 1, &c., read *μήτ' ἐν γῇ*. When two substantives are governed by the same preposition, the preposition is frequently omitted with the former. Compare Sophocles, Œdip. Rex 733, *σχιστὴ δ' ὁδὸς | ἐς ταὐτὸ Δελφῶν κἀπὸ Δαυλίας ἄγει*, and Antig. 367, *ποτὲ μὲν κακὸν, ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἐσθλὸν ἕρπει*. See Matthiæ, G. G. 595. 4.

534. *ἠπείρῳ*] Meineke has adopted Schneidewin's conjecture *οὐρανῷ*. But *ἠπείρῳ* occurs in the *σκόλιον*, and Aristophanes is laughing at the pleonastic grandiloquence of the *ψήφισμα*.

535. *'πείνων*] Rav. and Par. 1 omit the apostrophe.

538. *οὐκ ἠθέλομεν δ'*] Rav., which has been erroneously reported both by Invernizius and Bekker. *οὐκ ἠθέλομεν* Pal. 1, Pal. 2. *κοὐκ ἠθέλομεν* the rest.

540. *ἐρεῖ τις, οὐ χρῆν*] From the Telephus, says the later scholiast.

ib. *τί ἐχρῆν*] Rav. *τί χρῆν* Laur. 1 originally, corrected *τί ἔχρην*. *τί χρῆν* Mod. 1, Amb. 1, Pal. 2, Par. 2, Par. 3. *τὶ χρῆν* Par. 1. *τί 'χρῆν* Laur. 2, Pal. 1. *τί οὐ χρῆν* Tyrwhitt conj. *τί γὰρ χρῆν* Hanov. Exerc. p. 115. *πῶς χρῆν* Erfurdt conj. As both forms *χρῆν* and *ἐχρῆν* are in use, it is natural that the augment should be employed when especial emphasis is laid on the word. Otherwise one might suggest *τί δὴ χρῆν* or *τί τοι χρῆν*.

541. *εἰ*] *εἰ καὶ* Rav., Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1.

ib. Laur. 1, Par. 1 and Mod. 1 read *ἐκπλεύσας τις*, and transfer *σκάφει* to the beginning of the next line. A later hand has corrected it in Mod. 1.

542. *φήνας*] Müller writes *κλέψας*. But it is difficult to conceive that any transcriber should have altered the common word *κλέψας* to the rarer *φήνας*. Besides, this would have been a real offence. Meineke conjectures *σήνας*, explaining, 'Lacedæmonius quidam vendidit catulum Seriphiorum, quem blandimentis demulsum ad se allexerat'. Bergk conjectures *ἀπέδοτ' ἀφήνας*, i.e. *ἀποδείρας*. But why should anybody skin a dog before offering it for sale? Reiske would read *ἀφείλετ' Ἀθήνας κυνίδιον Σερίφιον*. But Athens would be the last place the pirate would carry his booty to. Finally, Hamaker suggests *ἀπέδοτο δήσας Κύθνιον ἢ Σερίφιον*. But such an outrage would justify any reprisals on the part of the Athenians, and the feat would require a greater force than one Lacedæmonian in a skiff. I take the text to be perfectly genuine, and the explanation to be this: Before a foreign vessel was allowed to unload her cargo, or even moor alongside the quay, a custom-house officer went out in a boat and examined the cargo to ascertain the amount of duty payable by the owner. If he found among the cargo any article not included in the bill of lading, he had a right to denounce it as contraband, seize and sell it. If he exceeded his powers, the injured owner would appeal to his country for redress.

ib. *Σεριφίων*] Translate, 'belonging to some Seriphian'. Seriphos is a small barren island near the coast of Attica. Its insignificance was proverbial. Compare Plato, Rep. I. c. 4, *τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εὖ ἔχει ὃς τῷ Σεριφίῳ λοιδορουμένῳ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι οὐ δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμοῖ, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς Σερίφιος ὢν ὀνομαστὸς ἐγένετο οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος Ἀθηναῖος*. The story is repeated by Cicero de Senectute c. 3.

543. *καθῆσθ'*] *ἐκάθησθ'* Brunck.

ib. ἢ] Ed. Basil. 1547. ἦ MSS. '*ἦ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ* cum interrogatione edd. vett.' says Elmsley. The earlier edd., including that of 1547, have no interrogation. Such a pointing is, of course, quite inadmissible. The later scholiast says that these words came from the Telephus.

544. *μέντἆν*] Dindorf, after Kidd. *μὲντ' ἆν* Rav. *μέντ' ἆν* the rest. Perhaps it would be better to write *μέντοι ἆν* as *a* cannot represent the sound resulting from the crasis of vowels, and we should then avoid the double accent on one word.

545. *ἡ πόλις*] The city including the *ἄστυ* and the Piræus.

546. *περὶ τριηράρχου*] *περιτριηράρχου* Müller, Bergk conj. Meineke compares Equit. 666, *οἱ δ' ἐθορύβουν περὶ τῶν ἀφύων*, but here the preposition has a local meaning. Each trierarch would be the centre of a shouting crowd, as an auctioneer bidding for men.

547. *διδομένου*] Rav. *διδομένων* the rest.

548. *στοᾶς*] MSS. Elmsley changed it to *στοιᾶς*, a form thrice used in the Eccles. 676, 684, 686. But *στοά* is found in an inscription, which he himself quotes, of the year 409 B.C. Both forms were therefore in use at this time. This, says the later scholiast, was the *στοὰ ἀλφιτόπωλις* built by Pericles at the Piræus. But probably the *μακρὰ στοὰ* in general is meant, of which the *ἀλφιτόπωλις* was a portion. *στεναχούσης*, the scholiast explains 'groaning with the mass of provisions collected in it'. I rather interpret 'roaring', 'echoing to the clamour of voices'. *στενάχειν* is used in Homer, Il. XVI. 391 to indicate the roaring of a torrent.

549, 550. Hamaker transposes these lines, reading *ποτηρίων* (for *τροπωτήρων*) and *κάδων ᾠνωμένων*. Bergk proposes *κάδων ὠνουμένων* and *κάδων δονουμένων*. There is no need of any change. The indiscriminate enumeration is designed to express the general confusion. There is no stop after *ἀσκῶν* in Rav., which puts generally colons where the editors have commas. For *ἀσκῶν* Par. 1 has *θάσκων*.

550. *κρομμύων*] *κορομύων* originally in Laur. 1.

554. *αὐλῶν*] Rav. has a colon after *αὐλῶν*, and the MSS., except Amb. 1, a stop of some kind. Dindorf and others omit it. I retain it as adding to the confusion.

ib. νιγλάρων] γεράνων Par. and originally, I think, in Laur. 1. In Mod. 1 the first four letters have been corrected. νιγλαμίων Par. 3. There is no stop after νιγλάρων in Rav., Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Pal. 2.

555. οἶδ'] οἶσθ' Laur. 2.

ib. τὸν δὲ] τὸν δὲ τὸν Par. 1, Pal. 2 and originally Laur. 1.

556. οἰόμεσθα] οἰόμεθα Par. 1. Laur. 2, Pal. 2 and, originally, Mod. 1 have οἰόμεθα. Rav. and several others have a colon after the word. The same passage of the Telephus is alluded to by Aristides the rhetorician (about 160 A.D.) vol. II., p. 19, τὸν δὲ Τήλεφον οὐκ οἴει τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, and a scholiast on Aristides tells us that Telephus was using Ulysses' own arguments against him. The brevity of the quotation implies in the audience a very familiar knowledge of Telephus' speech.

ib. ἡμῖν] Rav., Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, &c. ὑμῖν Laur. 2, Pal. 1, Ald. In Bekker's ed., London 1829, part of the impression has ἡμῖν and part ὑμῖν. Hence the misstatement as to the reading of Rav. Müller reads νοῦς γὰρ ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔνι;

557—559. Rav. prefixes χορ. to these lines, and after the first and last puts a colon, not a note of interrogation. Similarly it puts a colon, or full stop (for they are generally indistinguishable) after ἐχρῆν, line 562, and after θεὶς and μενεῖς, line 564. The error is too common to deserve record in each case. Müller puts a note of interrogation after λέγειν and a full stop after ὠνείδισας. He says 'Mirus est usus indicativi aoristi post infinitivum'. I do not see any difficulty, nor, if there were any, would it be removed by a change of punctuation. The aorist is equivalent to an emphatic present: 'Do you dare to speak thus of us and actually find fault with one for being an informer?'

559. ὠνείδισας] ὠνείδησας Rav. The writer or corrector has put two dots over the η. ὀνείδισας Laur. 2. Blaydes proposes ὀνειδίσαι.

562. αὔτ'] ταῦτ' Rav.

563. οὐδὲ] οὐδὲν Laur. 1, Par. 1, Mod. 1, Amb. 1. οὔτι Bentley, adopted by Meineke. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ is not exactly equiva-

lent to *ἀλλ' οὐ*. 'But if he dare to say this he shan't say it with impunity', or in colloquial English, 'he shan't get off scot-free, either'.

ib. *ταῦτα τολμήσει*] *τολμήσει ταῦτα* Par. 1, corrected by a later hand.

564. *θενεῖς*] The later MSS. read *θένεις*.

565. *ἀρθήσει*] Rav. *ἀρθήσῃ* Par. 1, Laur. 1 and others. *ἀρθήσῃ* Mod. 1 and others. A scholion in Rav., not recorded by Dindorf, interprets *καταβλήθησῃ*.

566. *ὦ*] Elmsley, after Hermann. *ἰὼ* MSS. *ὁ* Hotib.

567. *γοργολόφα*] *γοργολοφας* Par. 1 and originally Laur. 1, Mod. 1.

568. *ὦ φίλ'*] *ὦ φίλε·* Rav. and most of the others.

569—571. I have left in the text the reading of the MSS., which is substantially the same in all. Rav. and Laur. 1 put a colon after *τειχομάχος*. Elmsley, ejecting *στρατηγὸς ἦ* and introducing *τις*, reads *εἴτέ τίς ἐστι, ταξίαρχός τις ἦ | τειχομάχος γ' ἀνὴρ, κ.τ.λ.* This reading has been generally adopted with the substitution of Dobree's *τειχομάχας* for *τειχομάχος γ'*, for which Hamaker suggests *πεζομάχας*, and Meineke *τευχομάχας*. I leave the text as it stands because the metre is uncertain, and no admissible change can restore it to pure dochmiacs. The mention of *ταξίαρχος, στρατηγὸς, τειχομάχος*, not in due order of military rank seems to me of no weight. The semichorus are 'at their wits' end', and invoke help in words which mark their perplexity. *τειχομάχος* is right, because it is absurd. 'Captain or Colonel or Engineer', if I may parody Milton, as Aristophanes probably parodied some tragic poet. Elmsley's repetition of *τις* is not justified by the passages he quotes from Euripides, Hecub. 1169, Orest. 1218. Meineke now regrets having followed Elmsley.

571. *τις ἀνύσας*] *τι ἀνύσας* Elmsley conj., approved by Meineke in his Vindiciæ.

575. This line and the three following are given to the chorus in Rav. The first is given to Dicæopolis in Par. 1,

Mod. 1. From the plural λόφων we may conclude that Lamachus was followed by others extravagantly dressed, perhaps a *ταξίαρχος* and a *τειχομάχος*. Line 575 is omitted by Meineke, and the next two assigned doubtless by mistake to the chorus instead of semichorus.

578. *οὗτος...τάδε*] This line was ejected by Brunck, after Valckenaer, and reintroduced by Dindorf, who forgot to reckon it in numbering the lines. For convenience of reference I leave the numbering unaltered. *τάδε* refers of course to *κακὰ* in *κακοῤῥοθεῖ*, and Lamachus' subsequent question, line 580, asks for particulars.

W. G. CLARK.

CATULLUS 107 7.

Quis me uno vivit felicior? aut magis hac ē [O, me est G]
optandus vita dicere quis poterit?

Many, many corrections have been made of this corrupt passage. Whoever knows the Culex, will I think admit that the writer had our passage in his mind at v. 79 Quis magis optato queat esse beatior aevo, Quam qui cet. I would suggest 'aut magis aevum Optandum hac vita ducere quis poterit.' *aeuum* would appear as *ēū*, and then pass into *ē* and *est*; and when, from the perpetual confusion of final *m* and *s*, *optandum* became *optandus*, the unmetrical *hac* would be transferred to the preceding verse to satisfy the metre there. Though *ducere* is not perhaps necessary, the Culex seems to support it.

H. A. J. MUNRO.

ON THE ANTHOLOGIA LATINA.

In the public library of Reims, of which no perfect catalogue as yet exists, though it will no doubt be included eventually in the valuable series *les MSS des départements de France,* I met with a MS of the fourteenth century, written partly in French, partly in Latin. It is numbered 743 (739) in the existing catalogue, which appears to be identical with that in Hänel. It seemed well worthy of careful examination; all I could myself do during the cursory inspection of it which the courtesy of the librarian allowed me to make (it was vacation), was to copy what seemed to be either new or of some value as a contribution to Latin poetry.

The most interesting of these extracts is an elegiac poem of 92 lines addressed to a woman in deprecation of over-adornment. It will be found in Burmann (III. 275) Wernsdorf (III. p. 227 ed. 1782) Meyer 262, Riese 897. Andreas Rivinus ascribed it, I do not know on what authority, to Aemilius Magnus Arborius, perhaps the uncle of Ausonius. Whoever the author, it deserves perusal for its lively style and generally accurate versification. I say *generally,* for there are some exceptions, and oddly enough it is just in these that the Reims MS presents some very remarkable deviations from the text hitherto known, based presumably on a MS now lost. In that text the author allows a short syllable to stand at the end of the first half of the pentameter three times (*ornarīs Parīs Paridē*), once lengthens a short syllable at the beginning of the 3rd foot of a hexameter (*Vtraque fert aurīs aurum*). The Reims MS adds two more, one in a pentameter *Nulla sit ut curā* (74), the other is a hexameter *Corda gerit durā,* for *ferrea corda gerit* of the ordinary text (89). It is an interesting question whether the Reims MS has preserved the original metre which was subsequently altered to suit the requirements of the classical standard, or whether the original MS was vitiated after the corruption of prosody had set in. Riese does not seem to know any existing MS of the poem, and I shall therefore give all the variants which Re. contains.

6. *Et caput hoc bellum est, et coma mixta placet.*

For this Re. gives

Nam caput hoc placuit cum coma mixta fuit

less elegantly, but more in keeping with other lines of the same kind, 44 *Nec cum floruerit, par tibi campus erit,* 50 *si quid contulerit se tibi, uilis erit,* 70 *si per te fierent, mense peracta forent.*

9. *Nec tibi multiplicem crines reuocentur in orbem,*
Inculti crines absque labore placent.

Re. has *Ne* and for *Inc. crines* the less euphonious *Nam cum forte iacent.* This has to me a medieval ring, but it avoids the iteration of *crines.*

11. *Aurea nec uideo cur flammea uertice portes*

Re. *non* and *uertice flammea.*

16. *Cum tantum* Re.

21. *Ne toga fluxa uolet, reprimit tibi fascia corpus*
Sat corpus ueneror, sit toga fluxa licet.

Re. *reprimat.* Then *Cum corpus uenerer, si toga fluxa uolet,* a manifestly stronger and in everyway preferable line, returning as it does to the same words with which the hexameter begins.

23. *Dic teretes digitos quare anulus et lapis ambit*
Cum teretes digiti dent pretium lapidi?

Re. *cur, lapidis,* both, I think, improvements.

32. Re. *uelit* wrongly for *uellet.*

37. *Sunt tibi colla quidem niue candidiora recenti*
Sed niue quae nullo marcida sole iacet.

Re. here adds between 37, 38 two lines.

Et (? *Set*) *modo labente* (? *labenti*) *candidiora niue*
Nec niue quam lapsam Phebi tepefecerit ardor.

Here, to say nothing of *modo labente*, the quadruple *niue* is certainly peculiar, and suggests interpolation. The case is very similar in the lines immediately following.

39. *Conueniunt tepido tua frons et pectora lacti*
Sed lacti saturae quod posuere caprae.

after which Re. has

Lacti quod per agros celesti rore refecta
Graminibusque nouis pasta creauit ouis

a rhyming addition which can hardly be thought an improvement, and is probably medieval. The passage seems modelled on Pont. II. 5, 37, 8 *sed sunt tua pectora lacte Et non calcata candidiora niue.*

43. *prat* Re. for *prati.*

50. *siquid contulerit.* Re. has *sit quod cum tulerit.*

51. *helene* Re.

52. *Quam* Re., not *Quamuis.*

53. *cigni* Re.

54. *phriges* Re.

58. *cognita plumalem de Ioue fecit auem.*

Re. *fluuialem,* I think rightly, as the alteration would be suggested by metrical considerations, and *plumalis* is a *vox nihili.* The allusion is to Leda's swan, *fluminea aue* Am. I. 3. 22.

65. *Graecia coniurat repetendam mille carinis*
Iurata hanc ratibus Graecia mille rapit.

Re. *Iurat et,* rightly. Elisions in this poem are not found in any lines except those in which the ordinary text does not agree with Re. 23 *quare anulus,* 74 *Nulla ut cura foret.* This is a testing fact.

67. *Te tam conspicuam Phrygius si praedo uideret*
Et te uel ratibus uel rapuisset equo.

Re. *uelo* for *ratibus.* The assonance (*uelo, equo*) is in favour of the less elegant, perhaps less likely to be interpolated reading.

After this line Re. has

Grecia iuraret populis te mille petendam
Et merito populis mille petita fores

which do not exist in the ordinary text of the poem.

73. *Tu poteras Priamo ualidissima causa fuisse*
Nulla ut cura foret regna perire sua.

Re. *Nulla sit ut cura regna perisse sua*

which from the absence of elision I incline to believe the right reading: though *perisse* after *fuisse* is perhaps less probable than *perire.*

77. *driacum* Re.

86. *De tribus* Re.

87. *fuerunt* Re.

89. *Ferrea corda gerit, tua quem caelestis imago.*
Re. *Corda gerit dura, quem tam diuina figura.*

That *corda gerit dura* is right seems probable from its being followed by *qu,* which even in Prudentius lengthens a short syllable: so 86 *a Paride quarta probata fores.* But it is difficult to believe that so classical a writer could have introduced a leonine rhyme like *dura—figura;* and if *caelestis imago* was the original reading, it is conceivable that it was altered when the fashion of rhyming hexameters had set in. *If,* on the other hand, *diuina figura* was the original reading, *caelestis imago* the modern alteration, we must assign the poem to a later period than its general style would incline us to admit.

The same MS contains the four arithmetical epigrams mentioned by Riese A. L. II. p. XLII, and numbered in Meyer 1063—1065. The first of these I shall quote, as it has hitherto baffled explanation. It is headed *Quoddam problema de columbis.*

In lauro residens bis sex uolitare columbas
Aspiciens dedit hunc forte columba sonum
Si numerus duplici bis cresceret ordine uester
Essetis (*effeti* Re.) *centum me uolitante simul.*
Ut te non lateat uolitantis summa cohortis
Ex triginta tribus constitit illa cohors.

Riese alters *bis sex* to *bis tres,* and supposes it written in Arabic numerals 33. This by doubling becomes 66, by trebling 99, which with 1 for the dove makes 100. This seems to me improbable. I suggest the following solution

$$2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8 \qquad + 6 \times 2 \times 2 = 24 \qquad + 1 = 33$$
$$33 + 33 + 33 = 99 \qquad + 1 = 100.$$

The puzzle consists in the ambiguity of the words *duplici bis cresceret ordine uester,* which in the first line is used for *multiplying* each number by itself twice over, in the second for *adding* the total 33 now obtained to itself twice over.

In 1063, 1065 M. Re. presents no variation. In the fourth 1059 M. it has *sunt* for *sint* in v. 7. It has also the four elegiacs *Feruet amore paris* and the four *uer aestas autumnus hiemps* as well (if my memory may be trusted) as the six *Bis duo tempora sunt anni.*

The amusing verses *de quodam rustico ebrio* (Riese, p. XLIV) present the following variants in Re.

1 *ad rectum gressum,* 2 *et,* 3 *sistat,* 5 *sulte,* 7 *et,* 11 *quid ais clauam,* 12 *properas,* 15 *anssa,* 16 *glunt glunt,* 20 *glunt glunt,* 22 *Ad rectum.* The *dialogismus de pica* between Albedo Nigredo Pica Natura is given with no marks to indicate the change of speakers. It is headed *De p.i.c.a.* and presents these variations from Riese, p. XLIV, 1 *mera,* 3 *mera.* After 8 it adds, which perhaps is in favour of an earlier date for the other and better verses, the following obviously medieval.

Inquit Aristoteles nigra dicitur esse nigredo
Non inquit Socrates candidus esse (? iste) color
Non nigra non alba non sum mediata colore
Ergo mihi nullus dicitur esse color.

The following is not in Riese or Meyer.

De aduentu cuiusdam noui magistri.
Lucifer exoritur, emittunt sidera lumen,
Quom tacuere diu lumina stella nitet.
Nube prius latuit lux non extincta sed absens;
Non sibi sed mundo perdita stella nitet.

Nube carens, depulsa die, dans lumen olimpo,
Mundus ouat, fugiunt nubila, stella nitet.
Quam gallu(s) totiens cantu pr(a)edixerat, ecce
Lux oritur, mundo reddita stella nitet.
Per gallum famam, per lucem signo magistrum,
Hic canit, illa refert, haec nitet, ille docet.

2 *Quod* altered to *Quō*, 6 *nebula*, 7 *gallus*, 10 *hec*.

The epigram 796 in Riese is thus given in Re.

Ad mensam Varus diues me forte uocauit.
Illic ornatus paruula cena fuit.
Seruili pompa decoratur cena, ministri
Apponunt mens(a)e plurima, pauca gul(a)e.
Tunc ego, non oculos sed uentrem pascere ueni.
Aut tu pone dapes, Vare, uel aufer opes.

The epigram on the death of Lucretia (Riese 787), which is also given in Conrad de Mure's Repertorium (see Journal of Philology, VII. p. 259), has the following divergence from Riese in Re. 4 *Ante uirum sanguis* then *Quam bene testes hii pro me post fata loquentur Alter apud manes alter apud superos.* In 3 Re. has, as Riese has printed, *Testes procedant.*

The following epigram on the character of the Ligurians is interesting; it is not in Meyer or Riese.

Vulpe salitur ouis dum densis uepribus h(a)eret.
Hac Ligures genitos fabula stirpe refert.
Impliciti sunt sex uitiis, a uepribus unum,
A ueruece duo, c(a)etera uulpis habet.

Then *Sermo sancti Iheronimi*

Gens ea uepre tenax, oue supplex, uellere mollis.
Gens ea patre suo cauta dolosa pauens.

The two distichs following seem to deserve insertion.

Legem quam tuleris de iure tenere teneris,
Quam si distuleris iure Perillus eris.
Castratos natura facit, uiolenta spadones
Efficit inprobitas, eunuchos sola uoluntas.

The following hexameters *de mutabilitate animorum may* I think belong to an early period; the false quantities (nostrā mŏmentis) are probably due to the ignorance of a late transcriber.

Nescit mens nostra fixum seruare tenorem,
Nolumus et uolumus, non unum semper amamus,
Displicet ante placens, atque olim quod placet horrens.
Nunc rectum sequimur, nunc prauum corde tenemus,
Nunc casti sanctique sumus, nunc scorta fouemus.
Sobria nunc pollent, nunc marcent ebria corda.
Semper in ambiguo uoluuntur pectora cursu.
Quid iam plura loquar? quot lucent sidera caelis
Quot punctis hor(a)e, quot currunt saecla †*momentis*
Tot faciem nostram mutat sententia formis.

1 f. *mens hominum,* 3 f. *horret,* 8 f. *caelo,* 9 *momentis* fortasse inuertendum omisso *quot,* 10 *faciem* suspectum.

It is not impossible that some of these may be the composition of Hildebert, *episcopus Cenomannorum* (Le Mans) who is inscribed in the MS as the author of several poems, notably one *de instabilitate mulierum* beginning *Plurima cum soleant sacros euertere mores* (Beaugendre, p. 1354), and was no contemptible proficient in verse-writing, as this and other specimens in Beaugendre show. Indeed the verses above quoted *de aduentu magistri* are very similar in tone and allusion to an epigram p. 1323 Beaugendre *sidera caligant radio priuata sereno,* and though medieval workmanship is generally traceable in poems of any length, it is not equally easy to pronounce whether epigrams of short compass belong to the latest epoch of Latin literature, or are the fruit of middle age imitation.

I shall now notice some epigrams which I copied from a MS in the public Library of Modena (VI. B. IV. 134), written seemingly in the xvth century. The first is headed *Cor. Gallus pro Enei. Vir.* It is 242 in Riese. I give the variants in M. 2 *amisso quem gemo Virgilium,* 3 *sed uetuit religi,* 4 *Iin* (I *rubricata) eneam sacros,* 5 *etenim* (? *set enim*), 7 *Atque,* 8 *tua facta,* 9 *Aeneamque suum.*

The graceful hendecasyllables on the death of a boy are given as found *Tergesti in lapide antiquissimo.* I print these here as though both Meyer (1582) and Burmann (IV. 99) insert them, they are rejected by Riese, perhaps because they have been printed among the poems of Iohannes Cotta, an Italian poet of the Renaissance (1483—1510). That they cannot be his, but are the work of a much better artist, I feel convinced on internal grounds.

Me longe effigie uenustiorem
Narcisso uel Apollinis comato,
Parcarum Lachesis soror seuera
Isti Quinterium dedit sepulcro.
5 *Cur non flosculus exeam, requiris,*
Cum tantum fuerim puer decorus?
Haec tellus nimis arida est, uiator,
Nostri facta perustione amoris:
Nam terram quoque cepimus decore.
10 *Quod si lacrimulis tuis madescet*
Forsan flos nouus ibit e sepulcro.

3 *Parcharum* M, 7 *Hec* M, *nimis est arrida o uiator* M, 10 *Quid* M, *lachrymulis* M, *sepulchro* M.

I would ask any one familiar with Renaissance hendecasyllables whether they know any as good as these? Both rhythm and expression are of a kind not found in the Latin poets of that era. I would notice especially the use of *iste* = 'this.' Martial has it, but it cannot be called very classical Latin, and as such would have been avoided by a Renaissance poet. Again *tantum decorus* for the ordinary *tanti decoris* would have been as strange to Politian or Bembo as it must be to most youths trained in an English public school. *Perustio* for the same reason would scarcely have been hazarded by writers so generally careful of their Latinity: on the other hand the line *Nam terram quoque cepimus decore* has a genuine stamp of antiquity which I believe it would be hard to parallel in the hendecasyllables of the Renaissance.

How comes it then that the unusual name Quinterius happens to agree exactly with that of a youth in the household of Cardinal Colonna, who, as Pomponius Laetus states in a letter to Sabellicus (VI. 27), died aged nearly 21, loved and regretted by all, *tota dolente Roma* (Mart. VI. 28), and on whose early decease many epigrams were published? Is it not probable almost to certainty that the lines *Me longe effigie uenustiorem* were written on this Antonius Quinterius? So Broukhuysen argued, and this is the view of Schrader ap. Burm. Anth. L. II. p. LXIII, and apparently of Mommsen, who in C. I. L., Vol. V., Part I., p. 5, includes the Epigram among 'tituli Histriae male uel certe temere tributi' and ascribes it to Cotta.

I have already dwelt on the internal reasons which make me doubt this hypothesis: to which I may perhaps add that the word *flosculus* suggests a boy, rather than a youth of 21. Let me now come to the external evidence.

The poem does not seem to exist except in its MS and printed form. Sweert indeed, p. 332 of his Deliciae Selectae, ed. 2, gives it as an inscription at Tergeste (Trieste) with the words Posuit Ioannes Cotta appended. If we could trust this, Cotta would seem to have had these verses inscribed on a monument at Trieste. But why at Trieste? Antonius Quinterius was a native of Lodi, and in his official capacity of chamberlain (a cubiculo) lived ordinarily at Rome. The celebrity which his beauty, talents and character (*forma ingenio moribus*) gave him, as stated by Pomp. Laetus, might naturally cause a monument to be raised to his memory in his native place, but hardly at a place so remote as Trieste. I am not inclined then to lay too much stress on this statement of Sweert's. Yet, *if* the words Posuit Ioannes Cotta were actually found on a monument at Tergeste of that time (circa 1500), it seems probable that the monument would still exist, and clear up at least one part of our doubt. From Mommsen's silence I conclude that he certainly does not know of any such existing monument.

Mommsen quotes the epigram from a codex Bellonianus, where it is headed 'Epitaphium Tergesti ciuitas antiquissima.' This agrees with my Modenese MS 'Tergesti in lapide antiquissimo.' Burmann found it in another MS with 'Tergestae' prefixed and the inscription 'Quinterinis pueri?' These united testimonies cannot be overlooked. They prove, as it seems to me, that the epigram was originally copied from a stone at Tergeste. *When*, is uncertain, but probably in the 15th century. I see no reason to doubt the substantial truth of this assertion: it is stated independently in several distinct copies and seems objectless as a fabrication.

But what account are we to give of the strange name Quinterius? The variants found in the MSS *Quinterinum*, *Quinterinem* might tempt us to believe it ancient, but that, as far as I know, it is unexampled. If, on the other hand, it is modern, either the epigram is modern also, or the modern name has been introduced into an antique. This is Burmann's suggestion, and is perhaps true. The verses would be copied in the first instance with the real name, then the name of Quinterius would be substituted, as the rest of the epigram suited the description of the deceased youth of Lodi. Till this occasion for publicity, the verses had never got into circulation; hence the uniformity, with which the false new, not the real old, name appears in all the known copies. And the person who gave them this publicity *may* have been Cotta, though it is a remarkable fact that they do not appear in the first edition of his poems.

Of the two following, I can give no account of the first.

Cottae consulis.

Victrix Roma dole fuso de sanguine Cottae
Cuius ob interitum Vernius intumuit.

Cocte M.

The second is found in Pithou, p. 110

Epytha. nuper rome inuentum.

Esse putas marmor, iacet hic cum Castore Pollux.
Munus olorino de Ioue Leda dedit.

polux M. *olerino* M. *leda* M.

The epigram Meyer 1350, which is not known to exist in many copies, is headed in the Modena MS *Gerontii et Constantii tumulus a patre maesto.* It has these variants 4 *Cui,* 10 *uota.*

I will conclude with some remarks on an epigram which in my opinion has been wrongly conceived by Riese (867). It is found on fol. 97 r. of the famous Bembine codex of Terence.

Fabula constituit toto notissima mundo
Gorgoneos uultus saxificumque nefas.

Hoc monstrum natura potens nouitate ueneni
Trux oculis nostris iusserat esse malum.
5 *Hanc auro genitus Iouis ales praesule diua*
Mactans aerato conspicit † *ingenio.*
Deriguit mirata necem fatumque ueneni
Vertit et in † *morem decidit ipsa lapis.*
Sic praesens absensque simul caecumque uidendo
10 *Ludit et ignaro raptor ab hoste redit.*

In 3 the MS has *Ex* which Bücheler seems rightly to alter into *Trux.* The 'winged one born of the gold of Jupiter' is Perseus who by help of Minerva slew Medusa by seeing her face mirrored in bronze. But what is *ingenio?* Riese retains it in the sense of *dolo* 'by the cunning device of a bronze mirror.' Ovid makes this a shield (M. IV. 781); this he might hold before his breast (*in gremio*), and strike at the real Medusa looking meanwhile at the reflexion. Medusa 'in amazement at her death stiffened into stone, then changed the nature of the poisonous power assigned her by fate, and fell, actual stone as she was, in drops of blood (which turned to *snakes,* a new form of poisonous agency). Thus Perseus at once near (for he could strike at her) and at a distance (for she could not reach him as he only saw her reflexion) not only tricked his foe by seeing one that could not see him but returned in triumph with his plunder from an enemy not aware of his presence.' So I would translate the last four lines, changing *morem* into *rorem,* and explaining by M. IV. 616—619 *Cumque super Libycas uictor penderet harenas Gorgonei capitis guttae cecidere cruentae, Quas humus acceptas uarios animauit in angues, Vnde frequens illa est animosaque terra colubris.* This gives a point to the words *fatumque ueneni Vertit,* and removes the harshness of supposing that *in morem lapis* can either actually or virtually be equivalent to *in morem lapidis.* In 9 *caecumque* should not be altered into *quaecumque* which (to me) is without adequate meaning; in 10 *Ludit* is unobjectionable, and far more expressive than either of the proposed emendations *Fundit* or *Tendit.*

R. ELLIS.

KORAX AND TISIAS.

IN a paper recently published in this Journal[1] I endeavoured to show that Pindar in a well-known passage of the second Olympian ode (83 foll.) alludes to some work of an etymological character by two persons, one of whom was Korax of Syracuse, the author of the first Τέχνη or manual of rhetoric, the other not being named. And I promised (n. on p. 130) evidence for the positions (1) that Tisias was a collaborator with Korax in the Τέχνη, and (2) that Tisias may have been the collaborator in the work to which Pindar alludes, the received account of his later life (which would make the hypothesis chronologically impossible) being mistaken. The present paper is intended to fulfil that promise.

The Olympic victory of Theron, celebrated in this ode, is fixed in the year 476 B.C. Theron died towards the end of the decad 480—470, and probably not later than the year 472. I take these accepted dates from the editions of Pindar and other common sources. The book, therefore, to which Pindar on my hypothesis alludes, must have been published some years before 470, and we should naturally place the publication as early at least as 475. The rhetorical work of Korax and Tisias appeared in or about 466. We have now to enquire whether our information about the authors of it allows us to suppose that they conjointly, or Korax conjointly with some other person, had written a book on etymology known to Pindar some eight or ten years before the famous Τέχνη.

As far as Korax is concerned, there is no difficulty. According to tradition, which we have no reason for disputing, he was a person of importance at Syracuse in the reign of Hiero (478—

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[1] See above p. 128.

467), and upon the fall of the Hieronian dynasty in 466 and the consequent increase of litigation, he wrote, or assisted in writing, the Τέχνη. Upon what his earlier fame rested we do not hear, the notoriety of his special achievement having obscured the rest, but we must suppose that like Empedokles and others of his time and country he was a professor in general of the immature but manifold culture which was then springing up. That among other subjects he touched etymology is at least not improbable, and whatever his work it must have been well-known to a literary man so intimately connected with the Sicilian courts as Pindar. But the poet alludes distinctly to two persons, for to suppose γαρύετον a corruption is utterly rash. The very rarity of the number warrants it genuine, nor has any plausible correction been suggested. And further, to account satisfactorily for the joint allusion (if not for the dual number itself), the two persons should have been in some way united; if the reference is to etymological studies of Korax, then the second person must have had a part in the same work. Now it would be no objection to my theory if it was impossible to name this coadjutor, but it will be a considerable reinforcement if it should appear that there is a known person who, if Korax was one of the two collaborators, is very likely to have been the other. This person is Tisias. Of him we know on the best authority this (and this, I shall try to show, is all), that he was author with Korax of the Τέχνη. For that the τέχνη of Korax and the τέχνη of Tisias were originally not two books, but the same book, is asserted or implied in every statement that we have about them. These statements are somewhat hackneyed, but as the true import of them has scarcely been seized, I must ask leave to transcribe them once more. (1) Cic. Brut. 46. *Itaque ut ait Aristoteles, quum sublatis in Sicilia tyrannis res privatae longo intervallo iudiciis repeterentur, tum primum...artem et praecepta Siculos Coracem et Tisiam conscripsisse.* This passage deserves particular attention, for it is perhaps the one direct relation, as distinct from allusions, respecting either Korax or Tisias which is given to us by an unimpeachable witness. It will be observed that Aristotle draws no distinction whatever between the parts of the two; his words are that at such a date

Korax and Tisias composed a manual. (2) But if we doubt the fidelity of Cicero we may turn to Aristotle himself, not indeed unfortunately to the *Συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν*, but to the Rhetoric (2, 24). There we learn that *the manual of Korax*, *ἡ* Κόρακος *τέχνη*, was entirely upon the topic of *the probable*, and the Scholiast (see Spengel *Συν. τεχν.* p. 32) adds this strange note *μαθητὴς τοῦ* Κόρακος *ἐξ οὗ τὸ ὦον κακὸν κακοῦ* Κόρακος. The conclusion of Spengel is irresistible, especially as supported by Cicero, that the Scholiast read *ἡ* Κόρακος *καὶ* Τ*ισίου τέχνη*, though Spengel himself does not appear to see what this involves, namely that *the book*, though called by both names, was really one book. (3) But the evidence of Plato is the clearest of all. In a well-known passage of the *Phædrus* Socrates quotes a theory that the orator is concerned not with truth but with probability, from a book or *τέχνη* which he calls "Tisias." This book after his fashion he proceeds to personify and set up for cross-examination (273 A. *τόν γε* Τ*ισίαν αὐτὸν πεπάτηκας ἀκριβῶς. εἰπέτω τοίνυν καὶ τόδε ἡμῖν ὁ* Τ*ισίας κ.τ.λ.*). But it presently appears that the authorship of this *τέχνη* is divided or, as Plato in his dramatic manner puts it, that "Tisias" has an alias. *Φεῦ, δεινῶς γ’ ἔοικεν ἀποκεκρυμμένην τέχνην ἀνευρεῖν ὁ* Τ*ισίας ἢ ἄλλος ὅστις δή ποτ’ ὢν τυγχάνει καὶ ὅποθεν χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος* (ibid. C). The other name is that of "Korax," which moved the mirth of Plato as of Pindar (see Thompson's *Phædrus* ad loc.). It may be doubtful whether from this passage alone we could have inferred the joint authorship; but no one who will turn to the *Phædrus*, fresh from the words of Cicero (that is Aristotle) *artem Corax et Tisias conscripserunt*, can doubt that the book "Tisias" is this very Κόρακος *καὶ* Τ*ισίου τέχνη* itself, which Plato calls for convenience by the name of one author, while he hints the full title by one of those happy touches of which he was a master. And this at once explains the odd note of Hermeias *ἐλέγετο ὁ* Κόραξ Τ*ισίου μαθητὴς εἶναι.* According to the common tradition the relation is inverted (by the later writers, that is, for the older say nothing that I have noticed about the matter); but why? Simply because the treatise was more often called by the name which stood first than by that which stood second, and the commentators after their fashion explained the omission in each case by the fiction that the author passed over in silence was only 'the pupil' of the author mentioned. Why Plato chose in the *Phædrus* to make Tisias prominent we cannot and need not say, perhaps chiefly for the sake of his allusive jest on the *crow*. (4) The little we know about the contents of the book or books points to the same identification. The sole subject of "Korax" was τὸ εἰκὸς; "Tisias" declared τὸ εἰκὸς to be exclusively interesting to the orator. The very same illustration of τὸ εἰκὸς is cited by Aristotle from Korax, and by Plato from Tisias (ll. c); both defined their art in the same words (Prol. in Hermog. ap. Spengel Συν. T. p. 34); in short "Tisias Coracem in omnibus secutus videtur" (Spengel, l. c.). He followed him so closely that we may well doubt whether he followed him at all.

Here however, I must not omit to notice a reference in the Sophistici Elenchi (32 s. f., p. 183 b 32 ed. Berol.) which would place Tisias in a different and secondary position. The author, after dwelling on the peculiar merit of first invention, continues thus—ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς λόγους συμβέβηκε, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας τέχνας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὑρόντες παντελῶς ἐπὶ μικρόν τι προήγαγον· οἱ δὲ νῦν εὐδοκιμοῦντες παραλαβόντες παρὰ πολλῶν οἷον ἐκ διαδοχῆς κατὰ μέρος προαγαγόντων· οὕτως ηὐξήκασι, Τισίας μὲν μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους, Θρασύμαχος δὲ μετὰ Τισίαν, Θεόδωρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον· καὶ πολλοὶ πολλὰ συνενηνόχασι μέρη· διόπερ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἔχειν τι πλῆθος τὴν τέχνην. This indeed does not expressly contradict the previous evidence, Korax not being mentioned at all, and certainly such a vague appreciation, without date or circumstance, and occurring in such a place, will not induce us to reject or question the clear and concurrent testimony of the *Phœdrus*, the *Rhetoric*, and the Συναγωγὴ τεχνῶν. Still the language is surprising from any one who knew and remembered that Tisias was author in part of the first manual and himself one of the πρῶτοι. It is worth while therefore to notice that Aristotle, if he be the author, is at war with himself not only about Tisias but also about Thrasymachus. Here he is made the predecessor of Theodorus. Now in the *Rhetoric* (2. 23. 28.

p. 1400 b 14 ed. Berol.) we read that "before Theodorus" the science of rhetoric was occupied wholly with a certain 'topic,' *ἔστι δ' ὁ τόπος οὗτος τοῦ ἐνθυμήματος καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὅλη ἡ πρότερον Θεοδώρου τέχνη*. This 'topic' was as the context shews either *τὸ εἰκὸς* itself or very nearly akin to it, and it seems to me (as I have said above, n. on p. 139) not improbable that the words *καὶ τὸ εἶδος*, which are useless, should be read *καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς* "that is to say, *the probable*," and that this '*τέχνη* before Theodorus' is neither more nor less than our old acquaintance in another guise. But be this as it may, it can by no possibility include the writings of Thrasymachus; for we know from divers sources (among them Aristotle himself, *Rhet.* 3. 1, p. 1404 a 14 ed. Berol.) that those writings comprised various subjects, such as *ἔλεοι*, which cannot have been reduced within the limits of this or any single topic. That Aristotle should in one line have been twice inaccurate and stand convicted from his own mouth is somewhat marvellous. I will offer my own explanation. In the *Sophist. Elench.* the words *Τισίας μὲν...μετὰ τοῦτον* are no part of the original, but inserted, either in text or margin, by a commentator more anxious to show his learning than careful of historical truth or of his author's meaning. For observe, the words *οἱ μὲν...ηὐξήκασι* are part of a general reflection, applying not more to rhetoric than to other arts and sciences. How strange, then, to add a list of the professors of Rhetoric specially! After *ηὐξήκασι* we should place a full stop; in the next sentence *καὶ πολλοὶ...τέχνην* we return, naturally and without abruptness, from the general reflection to the particular case.

If, therefore, we consider only the first-hand authorities, we can refer Pindar's allusion to Tisias as easily as to Korax. That two men published one joint work does not prove that they had previously published another, but considering that literary partnership was apparently not common in antiquity, it is something to have discovered one of Pindar's pair in a person, Korax, who is known to have once had a partner. But when we turn from Plato and Aristotle to Suidas, Pausanias, the Pseudo-Plutarch, and the Scholiasts, the case for Tisias seems desperate. Professor Jebb, with a warning that the ground is uncertain, thus sketches his traditional biography (Att. Or.

Introd. p. cxxii) "We hear that he was the master of Lysias at the colony of Thurii (founded in 443 B.C.) and of the young Isokrates at Athens—about 418 B.C.; Pausanias makes him accompany Gorgias to Athens in 427 B.C., and speaks of him as having been banished from Syracuse....He led the wandering life of a Sophist." Now of course if all this is true, the allusion in Pindar, so far as Tisias is concerned, must be given up. Indeed it will be much if we can save the credit of Plato and Aristotle in assigning to him a part in the Τέχνη. A man who in 418 was teaching distinguished pupils in the centre of cultivation showed a sufficiently remarkable precocity by contributing a noticeable share to a highly original book as early as 466, and in 475 must have been a mere boy. It behoves us therefore to weigh the story attentively. And first, upon the whole of it we may feel some surprise, that if Pausanias and the rest knew so much about Tisias, they did not know, or have not disclosed, any more. If Tisias, originally domiciled if not born at Syracuse, really established himself as a teacher in two alien towns, if, carrying his fame with him, he was sent by a third as member, and probably senior member, of an embassy immensely important both to politics and literature, and at Athens or Thurii instructed the most brilliant men of two generations,—his career can scarcely have been inferior to that of Gorgias himself. Is it not curious that the whole biography of such a man should be contained in three or four curt allusions by the biographers of other people? But an argument from silence is not much by itself, and will not absolve us from the examination of the details, of which the most specious, chronologically and otherwise, is that respecting the education of Lysias at Thurii. For this Spengel (*Συν. τεχν.* p. 38) cites three authorities (which however as he justly observes are plainly from one source, and that not very pure), the Pseudo-Plutarch, *Life of Lysias*, and the articles on *Lysias* in Photius and Suidas. The two first are explicit enough as to the fact, though they give it an odd supplement, *κἀκεῖ διέμεινε παιδευόμενος παρὰ Τισίᾳ καὶ Νικίᾳ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις*, and again *καὶ διέτριβεν ἀκροώμενος Τισίου καὶ Νικίου τῶν Συρακοσίων.* Perhaps therefore we must have accepted this, however suspicious, and, on the faith of this, more besides, had not the third witness fortunately given us, instead of a narrative based upon unknown materials, the materials themselves, and thus enabled us to use our own criticism upon them. The article in Suidas is as follows—Λυσίας· Κεφάλου, Συρακόσιος, ῥήτωρ, μαθήτης Τισίου καὶ Νικίου, εἷς τῶν μετὰ Δημοσθένους δέκα ῥητόρων. ἐτέχθη ἐν Ἀθήναις μετοικήσαντος τοῦ Κεφάλου ἐκεῖσε· γεγονὼς δὲ ἔτη ιε´ εἰς Θουρίους ᾤχετο σὺν ἀδελφοῖς δύο κοινωνήσων τῆς ἀποικίας, εἶτα ἐκπεσὼν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπ᾽ ἀττικισμῷ ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κ.τ.λ. Now in the first place we see from this that when Photius and the Pseudo-Plutarch tell us that Lysias studied under Tisias *at Thurii*, the note of place, though a reasonable and necessary inference, is nothing more. They and Suidas obviously depend on the same authority, and that the statements of Suidas should be combined into that of the others is natural enough, the reverse process unnatural. Suidas therefore is the most faithful representative of the authority common to all three. The question then is, why did this unknown informant call Lysias *the pupil of Tisias* unless he was. To which I reply by another—why did he call him *a Syracusan,* though he was not? Lysias was an Athenian μέτοικος. So far as we know he never was at Syracuse in his life and hardly ever could have gone there without discomfort or even danger. The decisive event of his life was his expulsion as an Athenian from Thurii in consequence of the destruction by Syracuse of the Athenian power and armament in Sicily. Nay, though the native city of his father passed through much political change, Lysias seems to have quarrelled in his Athenian capacity with all its governments, and denounced Dionysios as he must have denounced Hermokrates (Jebb, *Att. Or.* I. 155). If therefore we find some one terming Lysias, off hand and without explanation, *a Syracusan,* we may well doubt whether it was his purpose to convey historical information. But if we stumble at Συρακόσιος, what shall we say to μαθητὴς Νικίου? Here at least there is something wrong, no such person as Nikias, a rhetorician of Syracuse, having been ever heard of. The explanation given by Spengel and generally accepted is that Νικίου is a mere dittography of

Τισίου, and that the words *καὶ Νικίου* should be omitted accordingly. On the probability of such an error as a matter of palæography I do not feel competent to express an opinion, but there is a reason against it of a different kind. We know that from a very early date the name of Lysias was connected with that of *the* Nikias of history, the general of the ill-fated Athenian expedition against Syracuse; Lysias it was said had composed the last speech of Nikias to his conquerors. We know this because some one actually forged the speech (Jebb, *Att. Or.* I. 147), and such a forgery presumes an antecedent belief to suggest and cover it. When therefore Suidas also brings Lysias and Nikias together it is difficult to attribute the conjunction to the accident of a pen. Is it not more likely that Suidas or one of his predecessors has misquoted, and that the original, alluding to the story about the speech, described the orator as *μαθητὴς* Τισίου, *καὶ* Νικίου [*λογόγραφος*] or something of the kind? Without punctuation this might easily be read as *μαθητὴς* Τισίου *καὶ* Νικίου, *λογόγραφος*, and cited in part accordingly. We come then to this, that the person upon whose word we must believe that Lysias was the pupil of Tisias makes three consecutive statements, one of which is false, one at the best misleading, while the third is the statement to which we demur. He is not very convincing. But what if, after all, he did not believe himself, and is laughing at us for taking him so seriously? What if he knew well enough that Lysias had nothing to do with Syracuse, or Nikias, or, for the matter of that, with Tisias either, but knew also that he was a prosperous and well-known member of a not very popular profession, whose most vulnerable point was his foreign blood, and who would much dislike to be reminded that he was no son of Athens, that his family and—by an odd coincidence—*his art* were imported from the city of her bitter enemies, and that, if all were true which people said, he had made money out of the ruin of her hopes and the last agonies of her defeated generals? We have taken the description for sober prose. How does it look thus?—

> *Συρακόσιος, ῥήτωρ, μαθητὴς* Τισίου,
> *καὶ* Νικίου [*λογόγραφος*].

In short, the uncritical compiler whom our later authorities followed has made history out of a garbled extract from a comedian, and if Lysias went to school with Tisias at all, it may have been at Thurii, but may also have been in the moon[1].

Not less idle would be the attempt to give a time and place to the supposed intercourse of Tisias and Isokrates. It is reported to us, as in the case of Lysias, wholly without circumstance. γενόμενος ἀκουστὴς, says Dionysios, Προδίκου τε τοῦ Κείου, καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου, καὶ Τισίου τοῦ Συρακοσίου, τῶν τότε μέγιστον ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐχόντων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. διδάσκαλος, says Suidas even more vaguely, Γοργίας· οἱ δὲ Τισίαν φασίν. The reference to Gorgias betrays the origin of the fiction. A mistake, which we will presently trace, caused the later historians to suppose that Tisias was at some time a teacher in Athens. Knowing no other occasion, they brought him there with Gorgias in 427 B.C., and, pursuing the parallel, supplied him with pupils from the list of his colleague. And they were very probably encouraged in their theory by finding that some of these, as Lysias certainly and perhaps Isokrates too, were called in contemporary literature μαθηταὶ Τισίου. Here, however, after what we have seen of Suidas, we shall decline to follow them. They misread that literature, as Suidas, or some one before Suidas, misread his unfortunate poet. In the days of Antiphon, of Lysias, and even of Isokrates, rhetoric and especially paid rhetoric was a strange and suspicious novelty, and there were doubtless many who asked, with real or feigned indignation, 'Can any good thing come out of Syracuse?' For this sentiment satire, as we see, found a suitable expression in a catchword, ῥήτορες μαθηταὶ Τισίου. They were liars and Tisias was the father of it. But take the nickname literally, and the life of Tisias might at this rate be lengthened out for generations. This evidence, therefore, instead of impugning that of Plato and Aristotle, strongly confirms it. For take a parallel. We speak of Cobden and John Stuart Mill as "disciples of Adam Smith." Will our language be a proof to the

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[1] I do not know any other evidence as to the quantity of the first syllable in Τισίας, but as the cognate Τείσανδρος is often written in this unmistakeable form, the presumption is rather in favour of the long ι than against it.

Suidas of the future that the Glasgow professor was teaching in London as late as 1820 or 1830? What such language really proves about Adam Smith is that he is regarded as a great originator and his book as a new departure in thought. And it proves the same of Tisias.

Lastly, was Tisias as Pausanias alleges one of the ambassadors from Leontini? Few now believe, and perhaps fewer will believe, that he was. Spengel (p. 37) touches the difficulties of the story (omitting however one of the greatest, the total silence of better authorities), and, in my opinion, does little to remove them. Professor Jebb and Dr Blass repeat it with emphatic reservations. But in this instance the best criticism on Pausanias is to quote him, for though Gorgias is his theme he tells us also candidly how much he and his informants could discover of Tisias. οὗτος ὁ Γοργίας...λεγέται ἀνασώσασθαι μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος,...εὐδοκιμῆσαι δὲ λόγων ἕνεκα... ἀφικόμενον κατὰ πρεσβείαν ὁμοῦ Τισίᾳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους· καίτοι ἄλλα τε Τισίας ἐς λόγους ἐσηνέγκατο καὶ πιθανώτατα τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν γυναικὶ Συρακοσίᾳ χρημάτων ἔγραψεν ἀμφισβήτησιν· ἀλλά γε ἐκείνου εἰς πλέον τιμῆς ἀφίκετο ὁ Γοργίας παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις. So forsooth, Tisias "among other *contributions* to oratory," wrote one highly persuasive private oration —Tisias, whom Plato, in the midst of his severest criticism, at least allows to have been inventor of his art!

'But how then,' I may be asked, 'do you account for this mass of fiction? Pausanias and the rest may have touched up their story, but surely it is rash to reject it altogether. Some good authority must have given a hint for it, which now has perished.' One excellent authority unintentionally did so; but his hint has not perished; on the contrary it has had a fatal vitality of mischief, deceiving Spengel as no doubt it deceived Dionysios. "Tisiam in Graeciam venisse ibique inter primos dicendi magistros floruisse et ex Platone concludas et aperte testatur Dionys. Halic." (Spengel p. 38). "Et ex Platone concludas?" As the references by Plato to Tisias are contained wholly in the *Phaedrus*, we can without much labour judge of this for ourselves. Let us take up his account at the point where we laid it down before (273 c).

ΣΩ. *Φεῦ, δεινῶς γ' ἔοικεν ἀποκεκρυμμένην τέχνην ἀνευρεῖν ὁ Τισίας ἢ ἄλλος ὅστις δή ποτ' ὢν τυγχάνει καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος. ἀτάρ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τούτῳ ἡμεῖς πότερον λέγωμεν ἢ μή—*

ΦΑΙ. Τὸ *ποῖον*;

ΣΩ. *Ὅτι, ὦ Τισία, πάλαι ἡμεῖς, πρὶν καὶ σὲ παρελθεῖν, τυγχάνομεν λέγοντες ὡς ἄρα τοῦτο τὸ εἰκὸς τοῖς πόλλοις δι' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τυγχάνει ἐγγιγνόμενον.*

Is it too bold to guess that Spengel's 'inference from Plato' is based upon the words *πρὶν καὶ σὲ παρελθεῖν*? If so, this formidable authority is but an empty terror, for the "Tisias" of that sentence, as of the whole passage, is not the professor but the book, and he "arrived," or rather "came forward" like a speaker upon the platform, not at Athens in the year 427 B.C., but in the *Phaedrus* itself at or about page 272 D, "long before which," as early in fact as page 262 A, his objections, thinks Plato, had been refuted by anticipation. (See again Thompson's *Phædrus*, ad loc.) But our business after all is not with Spengel but with Pausanias. How can we tell that *he* depended for his *ὁμοῦ Τισίᾳ* upon Plato, and not upon some other, perhaps better interpreted, informant? Because he wrote with the *Phaedrus* under his eye and took from it not only his pardonable blunder about Tisias but also, oddly enough, his much more ridiculous flourish about Gorgias. *λέγεται ὁ Γοργίας*, he writes, *ἀνασώσασθαι μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος ἠμελημένην τε ἐς ἅπαν καὶ ἐς λήθην ὀλίγου δεῖν ἥκουσαν ἀνθρώποις*. Charity forbids us to suppose that more than one person can have said anything like this. But what does Plato say? Once more,—*δεινῶς ἔοικεν ἀποκεκρυμμένην τέχνην ἀνευρεῖν ὁ Τισίας ἢ ἄλλος ὅστις δήποτ' ὢν τυγχάνει.* Charity does not forbid us to suppose that Pausanias, like a far greater critic[1], was misled by the conjunction of names in 267 A *Τισίαν Γοργίαν τε ἐάσομεν εὕδειν*, and conjectured the *ἄλλος ὅστις* to be not Korax but Gorgias. Thinking then that Plato gave him the choice between two inventors of rhetoric, and knowing not much indeed of Gorgias but of Tisias still less, he decided, after some hesitation as it would appear, in favour of the first, and converted Plato's bantering praise of the two Syracusans into a solemn and preposterous encomium upon their successor. Beyond what he learnt or imagined in Plato he has nothing to record of Tisias except indeed the "highly persuasive" private oration, which is not mentioned by that philosopher, nor, we may shrewdly suspect, by anybody else who knew what he was talking about. But what would Plato have said, if he could have seen the miserable effect of his harmless irony? *Δεινῶς γ' ἔοικας ἀποκεκρυμμένην τέχνην ἀνευρεῖν καὶ οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχῶς, ὦ Παυσανία*[1].

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[1] Schleiermacher; see Spengel, p. 33.

It is beginning, I hope, to be evident that if we want trustworthy facts, we must in this case be content with what we can obtain for ourselves from the writers of the classical period. The wordy and puerile account cited by Spengel from the Prolegomena to Hermogenes (Spengel, p. 24) contains very little grain for its chaff. There we read how the Syracusans were forbidden by the cruel Hiero to speak and therefore invented pantomime (*ὀρχηστική*) for the expression of their needs; how Korax could do what he would with the tyrant; how the tyrant died and democracy was restored; how Korax, reflecting (like Herodotus, Plato, and others of whom no doubt he was a reader) that a popular body was "a thing incalculable and disorderly" and that "speech is the regulator of human feelings," took measures to preserve his influence: *εἰσελθὼν οὖν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ... ἤρξατο λέγειν πρότερον θεραπευτικοῖς καὶ κολακευτικοῖς...ἅτινα καὶ προοίμια ἐκάλεσεν,* and so forth: further we are told that the excellent Korax was 'superior to spite' (*οὐ φθόνω κρατούμενος*) and offered to teach his art, whereupon Tisias presented himself, and having learnt ungratefully went to law with his master about his fee; how the crow and his chick propounded an ingenious dilemma, which gave the judges an opportunity of making the well-seasoned joke; and finally how Tisias the disciple *ἀπελθὼν ἤρξατο διδάσκειν καὶ πλατύνειν τὴν ῥητορικήν*. It is obvious that this romance, except so far as it is confirmed or rendered probable by other evidence, is unworthy of the slightest attention. The story of the trial with its jocose embellishments is supported by Sextus Empiricus, which means little, and by a doubtful reference in Cicero (*De Orat.* iii. 21) which *may* mean that it was recognized by Aristotle. If Korax and Tisias did go to law, the fact is far from showing that they had not been engaged in a literary partnership.

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[1] For an illustration of these misconstructions of Plato see the errors of Diogenes Laertius respecting Protagoras, traced in Mr Sidgwick's paper upon the Sophists (*Journal of Philology* VII p. 299).

I am justified, therefore, in saying that against the hypothesis that these two about 475 B.C. published a joint work on etymology there is no evidence whatever, and that on the contrary this hypothesis fits in well with the very little that we know for certain respecting them. Under these circumstances the passage in Pindar should I think be accepted as sufficient positive evidence for a hypothesis which so precisely explains it. That the supposed book is not anywhere expressly mentioned I must assume, but the force of this consideration depends upon the reasons we have for expecting to hear of it. It was probably narrow in scope and not like the Τέχνη new in its idea, the derivation of names having been already practised by the professional seers. (See my previous article p. 133 foll.) No author who has come down professes to give a complete account of Korax and Tisias, whose names indeed would have wholly perished but for the respect which is justly accorded to original men even after the small beginnings which they make have been long covered by the superstructure. What writer on rhetoric—for it is wholly from them that our scanty information comes—would think it worth while to mention, or be likely to know, that the first experimenters in his science, at an epoch earlier than their general fame, had published a fanciful tract in an uncouth dialect, the very terms and perhaps the title of which soon became unintelligible except to persons of special learning? And we are not without indication—slight it is true and not certain—that the authors of the Τέχνη were likely to give the offence which Pindar evidently took. The author of the Prolegomena to Hermogenes had seen either the Τέχνη itself or an account of its contents. At least he professes to give the five divisions of a speech as laid down by Korax, *προοίμιον, διήγησις, ἀγῶνες, παρέκβασις, ἐπίλογος.* It seems incredible that this is pure invention, and the best authorities accept it as fact. Now to each of these terms is added a *derivation* and *definition*, for instance, *ἀγῶνες δὲ (λέγονται) ἔνθα παράγει δι' ἐναγωνίων ἀποδείξεων ὁ ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι ἀληθεύει.* These in the form in which they appear have the unmistakeable stamp of the preface-writer, but it is quite possible that in substance they descend to us from the two premature pioneers of scientific etymology[1].

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[1] Mr Fennell, the editor of Pindar, once suggested to me that the second author was Empedokles. "Vv. 95—97 seems to refer to a democratic opponent of Hiero, which we know Empedokles was likely to have been. The epigrams assigned to Empedokles are both punning." The statement of Sextus Empiricus (Spengel, p. 23), Εμπεδοκλέα μὲν γάρ φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον ῥητορικὴν κεκινηκέναι, shows that Empedokles may have been connected with Korax, though I cannot prove it. As Pindar's allusion does not name the second author, it seems impossible to identify him *with certainty*. The positive and negative results of the above as to the history of Tisias are of course independent of this identification.

A. W. VERRALL.

HORATIANA.

Carm. II 3 9—16.

Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
umbram hospitalem consociare amant
ramis? quid obliquo laborat
lympha fugax trepidare rivo!
huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,
dum res et aetas et sororum
fila trium patiuntur atra.

Most of the recent editors print the passage thus, nor does it seem to admit of any other punctuation, if *quid*, the reading of the best Mss., be retained in the third line. Editors quote after Dillenburger the apt-looking parallel 'quo ferrea resto? Quidve moror?' from Ovid. Tho' I have acquiesced in them, I have always had misgivings about the questions of the first stanza. The impatient curtness which this form of question seems to call for is hardly consistent with the loving minuteness of Horace's description: contrast the words of Ovid just quoted. There is nothing again to connect the shade of the trees with the running water; and *quo* and *huc* from position and everything else look like relative and antecedent. Porphyrion's comment bears witness to some embarrassment. In the passage, which somewhat resembles this one, 'Cur non sub alta vel platano, cet.' the interrogation is of a quite different nature.

A good many Mss. have *quo*, and several have *quod*. The older editors, including Orelli, Ritter and Haupt, do not accept *quid* or the marks of interrogation. But the old vulgate 'Ramis, et' and several other corrections are improbable; and 'Ramis, quo', 'Ramis, quo et' are quite unmetrical. *Quid* and *quod* are continually confused in Mss., in those of Horace as much as in any, as may be seen in Keller and Holder's edition and in Keller's Epilegomena *passim*. If there is anything in the reading I am going to propose, there is I think a very good reason why the confusion between *quod, quid* and *quo* may have taken place very soon, perhaps, after Horace's time. I would suggest that he himself or his earliest copyists wrote *quod,* in the sense that is of *quot*; for no one can tell whether Horace would write *quod* or *quot*; and in the few places where he uses *quot, quotquot*, the Mss. are always divided between *d* and *t*. Quintilian speaks of some scholars in his day wishing to make a distinction between *ad* and *at* by always giving *t* to the conjunction, *d* to the preposition: he thus proves that there had hitherto been no distinction between them. Or if Horace wrote *quot,* it may have soon become unintelligible and been changed to *quid, quod* or *quo.* This then is what I would offer for consideration:

Quo pinus ingens albaque populus
umbram hospitalem consociare amant
ramis quot! obliquo laborat
lympha fugax trepidare rivo,
huc vina cet.

'To where the huge pine and the white poplar love to bring together their hospitable shade with boughs so many, and the speeding water is eager to bustle on in its slanting runnel, hither etc.' This use of *quot* can be abundantly illustrated: Mart. XIII 95 Matutinarum non ultima praeda ferarum Saevos oryx constat *quot* mihi morte canum! Juv. 6 275 tu credis amorem, Tu tibi...quae scripta et *quot* lecture tabellas! Mart. VII 47 1 Doctorum Licini celeberrime Sura virorum,...Redderis heu quanto fatorum munere! nobis; X 10 6: compare Terence's 'quae solet quos spernere!' Scores of parallels might be given from Cicero, Livy, etc. The slight asyndeton is very appropriate here, as the connexion of *quo* with both clauses thus becomes closer and more emphatic: it is very Horatian too. Horace's fondness for asyndeta is well known. Of very many instances take this one, quoted by Cunningham in his Animadv. p. 17: quotiens bonus atque fidus Iudex honestum praetulit utili, Reiecit alto dona nocentium Voltu, per obstantes catervas Explicuit sua victor arma. The *quo,* depending equally on *consociare* and *trepidare,* strikes me as more pointed than *qua*; and in such cases the Latin idiom inclines to the accusative: Varro R. R. II 3 9 oves quae se congregant et condensant in locum unum. It is worth while comparing an undoubted imitation by his great admirer Petronius, Sat. 131 Nobilis aestivas platanus diffuderat umbras...Et circum tonsae trepidanti vertice pinus. Has inter ludebat aquis errantibus amnis Spumeus. How did he read Horace here?

This passage leads me to another which I wish to discuss on critical grounds as well:

Epod. 2 23—28.

Libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
modo in tenaci gramine.
labuntur altis interim rivis aquae,
queruntur in silvis aves,
fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
somnos quod invitet leves.

We must remember that the land and climate of South Italy, not of England or Germany, are here in question, and that the poet is consulting Roman, not modern tastes. Mr Wickham properly compares this passage with the above passage from the Odes. I have little doubt then that in v. 25 *rivis* is to be read, not *ripis.* Neither Bentley's nor any other explanation of the latter satisfies me. These *rivi,* probably artificial, are brought down from the *fontes* in the adjacent hills into the plain or valley where the villa and farm are. Horace's own farm may have been in his mind. Of course the fuller and deeper these *rivi* were, the cooler and more grateful would they be in the summer and autumnal heats, while the speaker was reclining near them under an ilex during the sunshine, or on the grass of an evening. Lucretius V 948—952 will well illustrate this: silvestria templa tenebant Nympharum, quibus e scibant umori' fluenta Lubrica proluvie larga lavere umida saxa...Et partim *plano scatere atque erumpere campo.* The *fluenta* would be collected into these artificial *rivi.* Keller, who in his Epilegomena rejects *rivis* for *ripis,* says 'ganz besonders in Gewicht fällt aber Lucr. II 361—365, vielleicht das Vorbild unserer Horazstelle'. Yes, but to me it is altogether in favour of *rivis.* For the 'Fluminaque illa...summis labentia ripis', 'those streams running level with their banks', are these very 'aquae altis rivis', the opposite of 'aquae altis ripis'. Both the Old Blandinian (V) and the oldest Bernese (B) have *rivis,* and their joint authority I incline to prefer as a rule to that of all the other Mss.; so that in my opinion internal and external reasons are in favour of *rivis.*

Then the *fontes* of v. 27 are, as I have said, the sources whence these *rivi,* natural or artificial, come: audible at a great distance in the stillness of an Italian summer or early autumn, they 'loudly sound with their out-gushing waters': *obstrepunt,* just as in III 30 10 qua violens obstrepit Aufidus. Compare the 'loquaces Lymphae desiliunt tuae' of the Fons Bandusia. Some editors, as Keller, adopt and others approve Markland's[1] *Frondes* for *Fontes,* founded on Propert. IV (V) 4 3 Lucus erat felix hederoso conditus antro, Multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis. But against Propertius I would set Ovid, Fasti VI 7, who quite bears out the Mss. of Horace: Est nemus arboribus densum, *secretus ab omni Voce locus, si non obstreperetur aquis*[2].

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[1] By the way Dryden's translation shews that, long before Markland, he must have read *frondes*:

The stream that o'er the pebbles flies
With gentle slumber crowns his eyes.
The wind that whistles through the sprays
Maintains the consort of the song;
And hidden birds with native lays
The golden sleep prolong.

Perhaps then the conjecture belongs to Dr Busby, or some Fellow of Trinity.

[2] Tho' opinion is quite unanimous as to the sense of Propertius' words, I cannot suppress a suspicion that he also meant, and that Ovid took him to mean, 'nativis aquis' to be ablatives: 'and many a tree (ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ) is noisy with the natural welling waters'. Ovid Metam. IX 663 Byblis Vertitur in fontem, qui nunc quoque vallibus illis Nomen habet dominae, nigraque sub ilice manat. It seems

Surely *manantibus* can only be said of water welling out from a natural source, not of streams running 'altis ripis'. No one can enjoy more than I do the loud rustling of the wind through the leaves; but Horace's picture is one of quiet enjoyment, not of romantic beauty. In a still hot autumn day of Southern Italy the soothing sound of the gushing springs invites light slumber. In defiance therefore of the indignant gentleman whom Keller cites I keep unhesitatingly the reading of all Mss.

I 15 21, 22.

Non Laertiaden, exitium tuae
genti, non Pylium Nestora respicis.

This passage too I cite as a good, if slight, test of Mss. B unfortunately fails us in this stanza; but three of the four Blandinians give *Genti*, among them no doubt the oldest. Keller will shew that some of the other Mss. have *Genti*; but the majority have *Gentis*. Editors are pretty equally divided between the two: Bentley for instance has *Gentis*.

When our sentence is taken in conjunction with v. 9 quanta moves funera Dardanae Genti! it will hardly be disputed that Horace had in mind the following verses of Accius: Apuleius, de deo Socratis 24, says Ut Accius Ulixen laudavit in Philocteta suo in eius tragoediae principio 'Achivis classibus ductor, Gravis Dardaniis gentibus ultor, Laertiade'. The opening of a well-known tragedy would be likely to dwell in Horace's mind, and this ode would seem to be an early one. The datives therefore of Horace and Accius support one another, and I certainly look on this as one proof of the goodness of the Blandinian Mss. Such datives are by no means so unknown as Keller asserts after Obbarius: Kühnast p. 120 gives many instances from Livy; such as IX 18 5 nullane haec damna imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus? 19 17 scutum, maius corpori tegumentum.

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strange to me, looking at the preceding verse, that Propertius should here represent the leaves as making a loud rustling.

III 29 5—8.

eripe te morae,
nec semper udum Tibur et Aefulae
declive contempleris arvum et
Telegoni iuga parricidae.

This passage too I bring forward as a test of Mss. which in v. 6 are divided between *nec, ne* and *non.* The older editors, including Bentley, read *ne*, as does Keller with many of the more recent editors. B and g have *nec*, and therefore in all likelihood V, as this is a variation that Cruquius would not care to note. Keller in his Epilegomena observes that *nec* is preferred by many and naturally by the 'specifischen Verehrer' of B, as Obbarius and Munro. It is V rather than B, but above all the agreement of V and B that I am disposed to prefer to all other Mss. *when at the same time they appear to me to give a better or at least not a worse sense.* Here *nec* is I think more precise, elegant and idiomatic: 'have done with delay, and, mind, you should not always be gazing on etc.': Mart. I 70 13 Hanc pete, *nec metuas* fastus limenque superbum: 'and you need not fear': 117 13 Illinc me pete, *nec roges* Atrectum: (comp. too Transque caput iace nec *respexeris;* Dic quotus et quanti cupias cenare, nec unum *Addideris* verbum); Tibul. IV 4 9 Sancte veni tecumque *feras*: 'pray bring': sometimes the potential precedes: Nil mihi *rescribas,* attamen ipse veni; Livy VI 12 10 Tu, T. Quincti, equitem...*teneas,* tum...infer. In our passage the potential, as often, is equivalent to 'contemplandum est tibi'. Cicero thus translates the sentence of Euripides which Caesar rendered so famous: Nam si violandum est ius, regnandi gratia Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem *colas* (*εὐσεβεῖν χρέων*), where *colas* = colendum est tibi. So Catullus 'hoc est tibi pervincendum, Hoc *facias,* sive id non pote sive pote': *facias* = faciendum est tibi. Often of course there are only potentials: sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi Spem longam reseces: remittas Quaerere nec trepides.

If *non* were better attested, Horace might well have written it: Cic. Epist. IX 16 7 nunc...non eo sis consilio, ut etc.: Persius non, siquid turbida Roma Elevet, accedas cet.

Epist. I 2 28—31.

Alcinoique
in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus;
cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.

V. 31 is another test passage of Mss., the majority of which have *curam.* There is a certain inelegancy in *curam* coming so soon after *curanda,* and in quite a different sense. Again many who adopt *curam* have balked at the strange expression 'ces. duc. curam', whether you explain it 'to bring care to cease', or with others 'to bring care to play and amuse itself'. I should rather be disposed to compare the singular phrase of Sallust, orat. Licin. 17, neque ego vos *ultum* iniurias *hortor,* magis uti requiem capiatis: and to take Horace to mean 'inducere curam ut cesset', 'to persuade care to cease'.

But did Horace write *curam?* All the Blandinian and many other Mss. have *somnum,* and this is read by Bentley, Meineke, Haupt and others; who also adopt Bentley's *cessantem:* i.e. as Bentley explains it, 'tardantem, morantem allicere, invitare'. The sense called for seems rather to be 'to prolong sleep at the sound of the harp'; and I think *curam* may have something to do with the corruption: ?Ad strepitum cith*arae* *re*creatum ducere somnum: *recreatum* having its primary sense of restored, reproduced, as more than once in Lucretius. There is no tautology in these two verses, as *dormire* is the technical word to 'keep their beds': we have 'eo dormitum', 'dormitum dimittitur', etc. in Horace himself. This passage is a crucial test of the Blandinians: one other test I will now discuss, and a very famous one:

Satir. I 6 122—126.

Ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor, aut ego, lecto
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, ungor olivo...
ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
admonuit, fugio $\begin{cases}\text{rabiosi tempora signi.}\\ \text{Campum lusumque trigonem.}\end{cases}$

As Bentley, followed by Meineke, Haupt and some others, has in my judgment vexatiously complicated the construction of the first two lines, I will translate them: 'I lie till the fourth hour'—probably on his 'lectulus' of study: 'after that hour, when I have now read or written enough to delight me in silent thought, I take a stroll, or else oil myself'—to prepare for exercise in the Campus. The 'ego' of v. 122 in the 2nd clause is a very common idiom, either when there is no second verb as in 'nec dulcis amores Sperne puer neque *tu* choreas'; Plaut. Merc. 309 cape cultrum ac seca Digitum vel aurem, vel *tu* nasum vel labrum; Ovid Trist. III 12 (13) 39 Sive tamen Graeca scierit sive *ille* Latina Voce loqui: or, as here, with a 2nd verb: Cic. ad Att. I 18 2 aculeos omnes et scrupulos occultabo, neque *ego* huic epistulae...committam; Cato ap. Gell. X 23 5 si adulterares sive *tu* adulterarere; Tib. I 6 38 non saeva recuso Verbera, detracto non *ego* vincla pedum.

In v. 126 all explanations of 'rab. tem. sig.' are passing strange; whether with the old interpreters you take the words in their natural sense of the season of the dog-star; since Horace is speaking of his life generally. He would hardly be in Rome during the dog-days, and, if he were, he would not stay indoors all the morning and go out in the heat of the day. The words again are singular if with recent commentators you refer them to the heat of the mid-day sun; and in neither case is there any connexion between the two last lines and the 'ungor olivo'.

The other and famous reading was in the Old Blandinian, and, with *lusit* for *lusū*, is found in g. Most editors follow Bentley in adopting it, but most boggle too at *lusum*. If it be genuine, it can hardly I think have any other sense than *elusum*: 'I fly the Campus and the cheated ball', 'the ball left in the lurch'. Bentley proposes 'nudumque trigona': I would suggest 'Cam*pū* *pul*sumque trigona'. Compare Mart. XIV 46 *Pila trigonalis.* Si me mobilibus scis *expulsare* sinistris, Sum tua: tu nescis, rustice: redde pilam; Varro ap. Non. p. 104 quom videbis Romae in foro ante lanienas pueros pila *expulsim* ludere.

The five preceding passages have been selected by me out of fifty, among other reasons, as samples of the merits of the lost 'Blandinius Vetustissimus'.

Carm. II 6 17—20.

Ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Iuppiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
invidet uvis.

Most editors have felt a hitch in the last part of this stanza, and some have introduced corrections, such as Heinsius' *amictus*, or *Fertilis* with some inferior Mss.: all the Blandinians and B have *Fertili*. I am somewhat surprised never to have come across what for years I have looked upon as the simplest and best interpretation of the words: 'Fertili Baccho' I take in the sense of 'propter fertilem Bacchum', a not uncommon use of the ablative; and 'amicus Aulon' to mean 'friendly' 'pleasant' 'genial Aulon': compare 'amicius arvum' which occurs twice in Ovid. 'And pleasant Aulon because of its own teeming wine-god little envies the Falernian grapes'. See Madvig De Fin. I 34 for instances of this ablative in Cicero. Comp. too Aen. VII 146 atque *omine magno* Crateras laeti statuunt; Ovid Trist. II 430 Sed linguam *nimio* non tenuisse *mero*; Martial Epigr. liber 1 3 Nec Triviae *templo* molles laudentur Iones; II 66 4 Et cecidit *saevis* icta Plecusa *comis;* VII 17 9 At tu *munere*, delicata, *parvo* Quae cantaberis orbe nota toto: the editors of Martial by wrong punctuation make this last passage unintelligible. In this way too the 'Fertili' seems to me to get its full significance; as Bacchus is used here, as so often, at once for the wine-god and the wine or vine itself. Thus Ovid has 'dea fertilis' for Ceres, Tibullus 'fertilis Nilus'; and on the other hand Ovid uses 'fertile gramen', and 'fertilis herba' several times.

Carm. III 27 5—7.

Rumpit et serpens iter institutum,
si per obliquum similis sagittae
terruit mannos.

In my 'Introduction' to Horace p. xxx foll. I argued at some length for 'Rumpit', and 'vetat' in v. 15. These indicatives

I still think necessary for the sense. Mr Wickham in his excellent and candid edition says: 'Keller' [who now however reads *Rumpat*] 'and Mr Munro follow Bentley in adopting the reading 'rumpit', which is found in a few Mss. of value, and in the best Mss. (*not in the interpretation*) of Acr. and Porph.' The scholium of Acron is of little worth; but, so far as I can see through the mist in which it is wrapped, the interpretation as well as the lemma requires 'rumpit'. Porphyrion is more important; but his scholium is quite unintelligible even in the one authoritative Munich codex, and, so far as I can judge, in the latest edition, Meyer's. Thus it stands in that Ms.: rumpit et serpens iter institutum. ait si in transuersam uiam impios ducat non impios re$\overset{u}{\ddot{u}}$c$\overset{e}{\dot{a}}$t hoc est pius serpens transit iter inhibere. Meyer thus corrects: ait: si in transuersam uiam impios ducat, non impios reuocet, hoc est, pii si serpens transit iter inhibent: this I cannot understand. It seems to me clear that on this difficult passage several scholia were jumbled together, before the Munich codex copied them: Porphyrion for instance wrote: ait, si in transuers*um* uiam serpens transit, iter inhibere: a simple paraphrase of Horace's words. Then another hand, perhaps Porphyrion's own, in order to obviate what might seem a contradiction with the preceding verses, added: hoc est pi*is*: non impios reuocat: 'stops the journey, that is to say, of the godly: it does not call back the ungodly'. Then a third hand confused all by interpolating: 'impios ducat', and changing 'reuocat' to 'reuocet': this last interpolation our Ms. luckily makes manifest. The scholium, explained in some such way as this, appears to lend great support to *Rumpit*.

H. A. J. MUNRO.

SYRIAC ACCENTS.

Very little has been known on the subject of Syriac Accents till the last few years. In this country, I am afraid that very little is known even now. In 1832, Ewald published a short essay on the accentuation system founded on two MSS., which he saw in the National Library at Paris, and which he examined. Again, when he was at Rome in 1836, he saw in a Syriac MS. in the Vatican, an account of the names of some Accents. The MS., he states, contained the Nestorian Edition of the Epistles of St Paul. In the first leaf of this MS., there appeared the names of eighteen Accents, with their respective marks, placed in a row. He also saw a second copy of these Accents in a different hand-writing from that of the first. It does not appear, that the person who wrote in the first leaf of the first-mentioned MS., nor indeed the person, who wrote in the second MS., did so from the authority of ancient MSS. There are only eighteen Accents named. Some of the marks are wrong, as those of ܫܘܪܐ in position and ܪܗܛܐ ܕܦܣܩܐ in figure, and there is no statement as to the source from whence the information was derived. It is nearly certain that they were not acquainted with the most ancient writings on the subject, I mean those of Jacob of Edessa, of the anonymous Letter edited in my book on Syriac Accents, and of the Tract of Thomas the Deacon. It may be that these three were written not long after the introduction of the Accents; but it is impossible to speak with certainty, for the growth of the accents would in all probability be gradual. But, however this may be, the writings mentioned must certainly be accepted as the original sources of information.

It was the opinion of Ewald that the Syriac Accents were more ancient than the Hebrew, and that the existence of the former suggested the introduction of the latter. For a time this was the view which I entertained, but later reflexion has disposed me to think that the two systems are independent of each other. There is no doubt that they have common ground in some particulars; for instance both have pausal Accents; both also are used for purposes of singing, there being several Accents in each system to denote the rise or fall of the voice, and its duration in the accented syllable. There are also many Accents in each employed for the purpose of defining the sense of the passage in which they appear. But on the other hand it must be mentioned, that the figures of the Accents of the two systems are completely different, which could scarcely be expected if one system grew out of the other. Further, the names of the Accents in Hebrew and Syriac, with the exception of ܦܣܘܩܐ, differ entirely from each other. The greater part of the names of the latter, such as ܡܬܕܡܪܢܐ, ܡܥܢܝܢܐ etc., distinctly indicate the offices which these Accents are intended to perform. The number of Syriac Accents also greatly exceeds that of the Hebrew, there being no marks in the latter to indicate interrogation, prayer, command, etc.

But if the two systems be independent of each other, then arises the question as to which is the more ancient of the two. Ewald as has been already mentioned considered antiquity to be on the side of the Syriac Accents. But this does not appear to me to be certain. There is nothing in writing, at least that is known, earlier than the fifth or sixth century. The Talmud, as a Book, bears about the same date. But there are passages in it, which have been pointed out to me by the learned Reader of Rabbinic and Talmudic Literature in Cambridge, showing that the subject of the Hebrew Accents was known at a period anterior to that of the written Talmud. For instance Rabbi 'Aqiba, who lived in the first or second century of our era, according to the Babylonian Talmud, Berakhoth, has given evidence of the existence of the Accents in his time. It is impossible to say what interval might have elapsed between the origin of the Syriac Accents, and the maturity at which they had arrived in the time of Jacob of Edessa. It is equally impossible to speak more definitely on the point in regard to the Hebrew Accents, and, consequently in the absence of sufficient proof, it would be well to abstain from coming to any conclusion on the subject.

I have said that the figures of the two systems of Accents are different from each other, and this difference in one respect is greatly in favour of the Hebrew. The Hebrew figures are used for no other purpose, and each of them is distinct from the others with one or two exceptions. The consequence is that as a rule the right Accents appear in the right places in our Hebrew Bibles. The copyists of MSS. had no excuse for making blunders, and so the blunders they did commit were comparatively few. It is much to be regretted that the same cannot be said of Syriac Accents. The Syrians never introduced any special figures, or marks. Their ideas were, it seems, confined to points, and these points, therefore, had to perform various duties. They were employed for vocalization, for the accentual system, and for other purposes. With them one point, or two points, or occasionally three points were so placed as to indicate the object intended. The result of this poverty of figural distinctions is very apparent in Syriac MSS. Copyists, ignorant of what they were copying, have thrown the whole system into confusion. Even in the Tract on Accents by Jacob of Edessa, a Tract written for the express purpose of teaching the Theory, the copyists in all the known MSS. of the Tract have often, in the example given to show the mark and position of each Accent, either put the point or points in the wrong place, or have omitted them altogether. The confusion thus caused has made the Tract quite unintelligible and useless. No one can become acquainted with the Accents by the study of this Tract, although the system in Jacob's day was fully, or almost fully developed. Happily, however, there are other discourses on the Accents, which serve as a key to Jacob's, and by means of them the position and purpose of every Accent may be accurately determined. I refer chiefly to the anonymous discourse edited in my Volume on the Accents, to that of Thomas the Deacon, and likewise to the discourse in *the Book of Rays* by Bar Hebræus. These discourses state distinctly in writing, besides by an example, the letter or part of the word, where the Accent is to be placed, and also what is its significance. When a person has acquired this information in the way here suggested, he will be able to correct all the inaccuracies of Copyists, and what is more important, he will be able to command the valuable services of these Accents in dividing a sentence into its clauses, in defining the sense of the passage, and for the regulation of the voice in reading or singing.

As so little is known of this subject by Syriac scholars in England, it may be useful to give the following list of the names of the Accents, their marks, and an example attached to each Accent, for the purpose of exhibiting the correct position of the mark, and at the same time stating the influence the Accent is intended to exercise on the word, or clause, or sentence.

The position of the mark, and its significance are in each instance given on the authority of one or other of the discourses above mentioned.

Name.	Mark.	Example of the position of the Accent, its significance, &c.
ܥܠܝܐ	.·	Matth. I. 1. ܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܠܝܕܘܬܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ.· *The book of the generation of Jesus Christ.*
ܬܚܬܝܐ	·.	Acts I. 1. ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܟܬܒܬ ܐܘ ܬܐܘܦܝܠܐ. *The former book have I written, O Theophilus.*
ܫܘܝܐ	:	Gen. VI. 5. ܚܙܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܣܓܝܐܬ ܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ: *The Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth.*
ܦܣܘܩܐ	.	The name of the point, which is at the end of a sentence, is ܦܣܘܩܐ. These four are the principal pausal accents.
ܙܘܓܐ ܕܦܣܘܩ	..	Lam. I. 12. ܠܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܟܠ ܥܒܪܝ ܐܘܪܚܐ.. *Not to you, all ye passing the way.* It divides the clause.
ܡܒܟܝܢܐ or ܡܣܟܝܢܐ	·. or ·.	Gen. XXXII. 9. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܝ ܐܒܪܗܡ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܝ ܐܝܣܚܩ. *O God of my father Abraham, O God of my father Isaac.* The mark of this sign is the same as that of ܬܚܬܝܐ, and is used to indicate trouble or sorrow.

Name.	Mark.	Example of the position of the Accent, its significance, &c.
ܦܣܝܩ ܥܠܝܐ	.˙	James I. 2. ܟܠ ܚܕܘܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܚ̈ܝ. *All joy be to you, brethren.* It is distinguished from ܥܠܝܐ by the length of its sound.
ܦܣܝܩ ܬܚܬܝܐ	˙.	Acts IX. 17. ܫܐܘܠ ܐܚܝ. *My brother Saul.* It is distinguished from ܬܚܬܝܐ by its additional confirmation. The Eastern Syrians add a third point, thus ⸫.
ܦܣܝܩ ܦܘܩܐ	:	Gen. VI. 4. ܓܢܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ: *Giants, who were of old.* It is distinguished from ܦܘܩܐ, by the elongation of the sound, and it is put at the end of the protasis, when the apodosis follows with ܦܩܘܕܐ.
ܦܩܘܕܐ	˙	Matt. VIII. 13. ܙܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܬ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ *Go, as thou hast believed, be it unto thee.* Its mark is one point at the head of the commanding word.
ܡܫܪܝܢܐ	.	Joel II. 16. ܘܟܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܓܢܘܢܗ̇. *And the bride from her closet.* Its mark is the same as that of ܦܩܘܕܐ, and is sometimes found at the end of a clause.
ܐܟܣܐ	˙.	Lam. II. 20. ܐܢ ܢܬܩܛܠ ܒܡܩܕܫܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܟܗܢܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ. *Alas shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?* The mark is placed obliquely over the last letter of the reproving word or member of a sentence. The sentence is a chiding, or remonstrating one.
ܡܙܠܓܢܐ	.. ˙	ܚܣܝ ܚܛܗ̈ܝܢ ܫܒܘܩ ܚܘ̈ܒܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ. *Blot out our sins, forgive our iniquities, O Lord.* The mark of this sign is a point over the first letter of ܚܣܝ with ܬܚܬܝܐ at the end of ܡܪܝܐ.
ܢܘܗ ܛܘܒܐ	˙	Ps. CXII. 1. ܛܘܒܘܗܝ ܠܓܒܪ ܕܕܚܠ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܐ. *Blessed is he who feareth the Lord.* The mark of this sign is over the first letter of the first word. ܡܫܒܚܢܐ is another name, and both names indicate the significance of the accent.
ܩܪܘܝܐ	˙	1 Kings I. 32. ܩܪܘ ܠܝ ܠܢܬܢ˙ *Call me Na-*

Name.	Mark.	Example of the position of the Accent, its significance, &c.
		than. The mark of this accent is over the first letter of the calling word.
ܢܘܚܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܦܣܩ	¨	James v. 9. ܠܐ ܬܬܐܢܚܘܢ ܚܕ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܐܚܝ̈ ܕܠܐ ܬܬܕܝܢܘܢ. *Grudge not one against another, brethren, that ye be not condemned.* The accent does not divide the clause.
ܡܬܟܫܦܢܐ	⁖	Luke ix. 32. ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܢܟ ܡܪܝܐ. *I beseech Thee, O Lord.* The mark is the same as that of ܡܨܠܝܢܐ. The latter accent marks prayer to God only, whilst ܡܬܟܫܦܢܐ indicates prayer not only to God, but also to man.
ܡܫܐܠܢܐ	·	Gen. iv. 9. ܐܝܟܘ ܗܒܝܠ ܐܚܘܟ. *Where is Abel thy brother?* The mark of this sign is a point over the asking word.
ܡܟܝܟܬܐ	.	Lam. i. 12. ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܟܐܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܐܒܝ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܡܪܝܐ. *If there be sorrow, as my sorrow, which the Lord hath done to me.* The mark of this sign is a point below the beginning of the clause. Bar Hebræus says that ܡܟܝܟܬܐ expresses *humility, gentleness, contrition.* It is read protractedly.
ܡܬܕܡܪܢܐ	.	Obad. *v.* 6. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܬܒܨܝ ܥܣܘ ܘܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܡ̈ܛܫܝܬܗ. *How is Esau searched out, how are his secret things sought up!* The mark is a point below the beginning of the first member. It is equivalent to an interjection in English.
ܡܦܠܓܢܐ	.	Rom. iii. 4. ܐܠܗܘܗܝ ܓܝܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ. *For God is true.* The mark of the accent is the same as that for ܡܟܝܟܬܐ. It denotes a sudden change of the subject.
ܡܫܘܝܢܐ	. .	ܫܘܐ ܒܐܘܣܝܐ. *Equal in substance.* This example is expressed by one word in Greek. Its mark is a point below the last letter of the first member, and another point below the first letter

Name.	Mark.	Example of the position of the Accent, its significance, &c.
		of the second member. In comparatively later times, a point between the two words was put in lieu of the two points.
ܨܘܪܐ	·	2 Cor. VI. 5. ܒܫܗܪܐ ܒܨܘܡܐ ܒܠܐܘܬܐ ܒܐܣܘܪܐ· *In watching, in fasting, in labour, in bonds.* The mark of this accent is like that of ܦܣܘܩܐ. It joins single disjointed members.
ܦܘܫܠܟ ܡܟܣܝܢܐ	.	1 Cor. XV. 42. ܡܙܕܪܥ ܒܚܒܠܐ. ܩܐܡ ܕܠܐ ܚܒܠܐ. *Sown in corruption, raised in incorruption.* The mark of this sign is a point after the first member. It is distinguished from ܡܟܣܝܢܐ in the mind, for in Greek as in Syriac, the expression has two members.
ܦܘܫܠܟ ܨܘܪܐ	·	Gal. IV. 10. ܝܘܡܬܐ· ܘܝܪܚܐ· ܘܙܒܢܐ· ܘܫܢܝܐ ܢܛܪܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ. *Ye observe days and months and times and years.* Here the members are joined by *vau.* The accent is read with the mark of ܙܬܘܟܐ viz. ∸ or ܣܡܟܐ ⨪
ܟܘܢܐ	·	John XIV. 20. ܒܗܘ ܝܘܡܐ ܬܕܥܘܢ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܐܒܝ ܘܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܝ ܐܢܬܘܢ. *In that day ye shall know that I am in my father, and ye are in me.* The mark is a point like ܙܬܘܟܐ.
ܗܘܟܐ	·	ܘܒܢܘܪܐ· ܘܣܘܟܠܐ· The mark is similar to that of ܟܘܢܐ, and in the intonation it possesses the power of half of ܥܠܝܐ.
ܣܡܟܐ	.	Prov. II. 21, 22. ܙܕܝܩܐ ܢܥܡܪܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܚܛܝܐ ܢܬܥܩܪܘܢ ܡܢܗ. *The righteous shall dwell in the land, but sinners shall be rooted from it.* The mark of this accent is a point below the final letter of the word. In sound it equals half of ܬܚܬܝܐ.
ܦܘܫܠܟ ܣܡܟܐ	.	Rom. VIII. 38. ܠܐ ܡܘܬܐ. ܘܠܐ ܚܝܐ. *Not death, and not life.* The mark is the same as that of

Name.	Mark.	Example of the position of the Accent, its significance, &c.
		ܣܡܟܐ. It is distinguished from ܣܡܟܐ by the extension of the sound, but is not as ܬܚܝܬܐ double of the sound.
ܣܘܡܟܐ	.	Gen. xxxv. 25. ܘܒܢܝ̈ܗ ܕܒܠܗܐ ܐܡܬܗ ܕܪܚܝܠ ܕܢ. ܘܢܦܬܠܝ.. *And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, were Dan and Naphtali.* The mark is the same as that of ܦܣܘܩܐ. It is distinguished from what is called ܦܣܘܩ. ܛܠܠܐ in that the clause, which follows it, is united to it by the letter *vau.*
ܡܚܘܝܢܐ	˙	Joh. i. 29. ܗܐ ܐܡܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. *Behold the Lamb of God.* Its mark is the same as that of ܦܩܘܕܐ. The word with it is sounded somewhat more emphatically than without it.
ܬܟܣܐ ܘܬܚܝܬܐ ܡܫܐܠܢܐ	. ˙	2 Kings ii. 18. ܠܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܐ ܬܐܙܠܘܢ *Did I not say to you, Go not?* This sentence is both chiding and interrogatory. Hence we have these accents.
ܙܘܓܐ ܘܦܣܘܩܐ	. ˙	Is. i. 4. ܙܪܥܐ ܡܒܐܫܐ· ܒܢ̈ܝܐ ܡܚܒ̈ܠܢܐ. *An evil seed, children that are corrupters.* In this sentence there is a slight pause after ܡܒܐܫܐ. Hence the accent ܙܘܓܐ, which, in intonation, has only half the power of ܥܠܝܐ.
ܣܡܟܐ ܘܡܥܓܠܢܐ	˙ .	John i. 1. ܒܪܫܝܬ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗ̱ܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ. *In the beginning was the word.* The prop or the emphatic word of the clause is ܒܪܫܝܬ, hence the accent ܣܡܟܐ. At ܡܠܬܐ is a sudden interruption of the subject, and hence the point ܡܥܓܠܢܐ.
ܡܫܐܠܢܐ ܘܙܘܓܐ ܘܪܗܛܐ ܕܦܣܘܩ	.. ˙˙	1 Cor. xv. 55. ܐܝܟܐ ܗܘ ܙܟܘܬܟ ܡܘܬܐ.. *O death where is thy victory?* This expression is interrogative, one word is vocative, with a slight pause after ܙܟܘܬܟ. Hence the three accents mentioned.

Name.	Mark.	Example of the position of the Accent, its significance, &c.
ܦܩܘܕܐ ܘܥܠܝܐ ܘܪܗܛܐ ܕܠܐ ܦܣܘܩ ܘܦܣܘܩܐ	. ¨ ¨	Wisdom I. 4. ܪ̈ܚܡܘ ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ· ܕܝ̈ܢܝܗ܆ ܕܐܪܥܐ. *Love righteousness, O ye judges of the earth.* The character of this sentence readily suggests the four accents that are put.

I think that this brief account will be sufficient to give the reader a general view of the subject of Syriac Accents, and to enable him to see that it is one of utility and historical interest. Hebrew Accents have received more attention of late years than for some time previously. But whatever importance attaches to them, attaches in a far greater degree to Syriac Accents, for they are more numerous, and much more comprehensive in their application. Considering the information on the subject which recent publications have furnished, I think that henceforth there should be no Syriac Grammar, even for students only, which does not comprise a Chapter on Syriac Accents.

GEO. PHILLIPS.

HERACLITUS AND ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

It may seem incredible that we should be indebted to Albertus Magnus of all people in the world for the preservation of a Heraclitean fragment which is not known to exist elsewhere: I think, however, that notwithstanding the antecedent improbability this may be shewn to be really the case. The fragment occurs in the treatise De Vegetabilibus VI. 401 (p. 545 Meyer), where he writes as follows on the subject of the orobus, one of multitudinous varieties of vetch:—

'Orobum est herba quae a quibusdam vocatur vicia avium. Et habet figuram in folio et crure et anchis viciae, et in flore similiter; sed casta seminis non est adeo longa sicut viciae. Et valet contra venenum: est autem delectabilissimus pastus boum, ita quod bos cum iocunditate comedit ipsum; propter quod Heraclitus dixit quod, si felicitas esset in delectationibus corporis, boves felices diceremus cum inveniant orobum ad comedendum.'

Our business being merely with the words here attributed to Heraclitus, it is unnecessary to enquire whether Albert's description of the plant is true of the *ὄροβος* of the Greeks—which botanists agree in identifying with the ervum ervilia of Linnaeus. For our purposes it is sufficient to demonstrate that the second half of the passage I excerpt from Albert has a Greek colour and character so clearly marked that his words must be presumed to be at any rate a fair representation of a Greek original. Of the particular kind of pulse known among Greek writers as *ὄροβος* (our Lexicons call it the bitter vetch) one may say:—

(1) That it was recognized in ancient medicine as a remedy against poison. In Nicander (Alexiph. 551) it figures as an ingredient in an antidote against a poison of salamander-broth. Dioscorides, who has a chapter on its properties in his Materia Medica (2. 131), and Galen, in more than one place in his book *περὶ ἀντιδότων* (v. esp. 2. 17, t. 14 p. 201—2 Kühn), speak of it as entering into certain recipes for the cure of venomous bites.

(2) It was grown by the Greek farmer as food for cattle (Phanias ap. Athen. 406 c Casaub.).

(3) It had a sharp bitter taste (Theophrastus C. P. 4. 2, 2).

(4) It was not used as human food: even when steeped it was only fit for cattle, though in moments of exceptional distress men might be driven by hunger to eat it. This is intimated in the words of Demosthenes (598. 4), *ἴστε ὀρόβους ὄντας ὠνίους*, to which Galen furnishes the requisite commentary (*π. τροφῶν δυνάμεως* 1. 29, t. 6 p. 546 Kühn):—

οἱ βόες ἐσθίουσι τοὺς ὀρόβους παρ' ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὕδατι προγλυκανθέντας· οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι τελέως ἀπέχονται τοῦ σπέρματος, καὶ γὰρ ἀηδέστατόν ἐστι καὶ κακόχυμον. ἐν λιμῷ δέ ποτε μεγάλῳ, καθὰ καὶ Ἱπποκράτης ἔγραψεν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης βιαίας ἐπ' αὐτὸ παραγίνονται[1].

Not to multiply quotations, I may now perhaps proceed on the assumption that what Albert says as to the uses of orobus is an echo of a Greek statement. The statement, however, is not reproduced with logical completeness, for the words 'est autem delectabilissimus pastus boum' imply that something to the effect that 'orobus is unfit for human food' has gone before. The omission of the part which is thus wanting our Greek parallels enable us to detect, so as to recover the outline of a more coherent original.

We have next to consider whether the words at the end of the paragraph could have been written by the author to whom they are ascribed, Heraclitus. The conditional clause,

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[1] The reference is perhaps to Hippocr. *Epidem.* 2. 4. 3, t. 5 p. 126 Littré; comp. Galen t. 15 p. 119 Kühn.

'si felicitas esset in delectationibus corporis,' gives the aphorism a quasi-theological turn of a kind which cannot be Heraclitean. Let us provisionally ignore the clause and see how the aphorism looks without it:—

'We deem oxen happy when they find bitter vetch to eat.'

Or, if we may introduce a little prefatory addition from our Greek parallels:—

'Bitter vetch is disagreeable to man, but we deem oxen happy when they find it to eat.'

Here in either of the two forms we have a saying which, if found in a Greek writer, would be admitted at once as bearing the stamp and signature of Heraclitean authorship. There are at least two well-certified fragments to which it would serve as a pendant:—

θάλασσα ὕδωρ καθαρώτατον καὶ μιαρώτατον, ἰχθύσι μὲν πότιμον καὶ σωτήριον, ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄποτον καὶ ὀλέθριον (Heraclit. ap. Hippolyt. R. H. 9. 10).

ἑτέρα ἵππου ἡδονὴ καὶ κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, καθάπερ Ἡρά*κλειτός φησιν ὄνους σύρματ' ἂν ἑλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ χρυσόν· ἥδιον γὰρ χρυσοῦ τροφὴ ὄνοις*[1] (Aristot. Eth. N. 10. 5, p. 1176 *a* 6).

It ranges, moreover, with the series of illustrations, taken from the manifold variations of tastes and habits in men and animals, which the Pyrrhonists cited as arguments for their theory of the relativity of things. Now we know Aenesidemus to have been a zealous student of Heraclitus; and it can hardly be a mere accident that in the series of examples adduced by Sextus Empiricus P. H. 1. 55—58 we are still able to recognize, at any rate here and there, the very language of Heraclitus himself. Thus the words quoted by Albert have one great mark of genuineness; and we have so far no reason to wish to invalidate his testimony, or explain away the tradition on which his testimony rests.

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[1] Compare Eustratius (or rather Michael Ephesius) on this and the next sentence in the text of Aristotle.

As for the clause, 'si felicitas esset in delectationibus corporis,' I do not hesitate to make short work of it, as due to the unknown patristic writer to whom (as Meyer has already suggested) we are indebted for the preservation of our fragment. Literal accuracy in the matter of quotations is not to be looked for in ancient writers. The Fathers are certainly no exception to the general rule: they accommodate what they quote to their own purposes, amplifying or curtailing the original form of words without the slightest regard for the critical exigencies of the modern editor of fragments. It seems to me, therefore, that some patristic (or Neoplatonic) 'middleman' is responsible for the clause with which we are now dealing. But we are not bound to believe that this hypothetical 'middleman' was in the hands of Albert himself. The remarks on the uses of orobus, from 'et valet' to the end of the section, have the appearance of being taken from a single source—which source, in default of better knowledge of Albert's subsidia, I conjecture to have been a Byzantine writer on agriculture (or it may be, materia medica) who sought to enliven his pages by means of a purple patch in the shape of a second-hand quotation from Heraclitus. At the time when the Geoponica were compiled there must have been a good deal of literature of the sort in existence.

Though I have just now assumed the translation of the fragment in Albert's text to have been made directly from the Greek, I am aware that there is another hypothesis that might be taken into consideration. The alternative hypothesis is that the fragment was preserved in some Arabic writing, and that it was consequently through a translation from the Arabic that Albert became acquainted with it. The objection to this view—if I may hazard an opinion on such a matter—is the fidelity with which, even in a translation, the fragment has retained its original Greek character: if it had had to pass through the distorting medium first of a Syriac and then of an Arabic version before it assumed the final Latin form in which we now have it, we might expect the fragment to have lost something of this Greek character. The orobus would probably have degenerated into the more familiar ervum or vicia. To my mind the evidence rather points to the conclusion that Albert's 'source' in the sentence we have been discussing was a translation of a Greek book, and moreover one made immediately from the Greek. If the work is now lost, it is not the only writing of the kind which has disappeared during the last six or seven centuries.

I. BYWATER.

ON PROPERTIUS.

I. 20. 13 is given in Bährens' four primary MSS.

Ne tibi sint duri montes et frigida (*turbida* AF) *saxa*
Galle, neque expertos semper adire lacus.

Perhaps Propertius wrote *Ne tibi sit cordi.*

II. 2. 12. Both Bährens and A. Palmer return to the MS. reading *primo*. In my University College dissertation for 1871 I defend *Brimo*, the conj. of both Turnebus and Scaliger, at length. I had not then seen the following passage of Tzetzes (Schol. in Lycoph. 1175) Βριμὼ ἡ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἑκάτη, ὅτι Ἑρμοῦ ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ βιάζοντος αὐτὴν ἐνεβριμήσατο καὶ οὕτως ἐπαύθη. Καὶ ἡ Περσεφόνη Βριμὼ λέγεται. Δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ εἶναι Ἑκάτη καὶ Περσεφόνη. This proves what before was the one thing I had found no proof of, that *Brimo was ravished by Mercury.* Hence I hold it beyond doubt that *Mercurio* in the preceding line is right and that Bährens and Palmer are wrong in attempting to alter it.

II. 28. 21,

Andromede monstris fuerat monstrata marinis.

So FDV; the Neapolitanus has *deuota*, which is also found in the margin of F and V. Bährens conj. *sacrata.* Possibly the right word is *prostrata.*

II. 32. 61,

Quod si tu Graias tuque es imitata Latinas.

So FN, *siue es* DV. Bähr. *es tuque,* Palmer *aeques imitata Latina* after Lachmann. It would, I think, be more like Propertius to read *siue es tu imitata Latinas.*

III. 5. 39,

Sub terris sint iura deum et tormenta Gigantum.

In spite of Haupt (opusc. II. 57) I must believe *Gigantum,* omitted though it is in the Neapolitanus, to be right. Compare Sil. XI. 591,

Scyllaque Centaurique truces, umbraeque Gigantum,

in a similar description of the infernal regions.

IV. 1. 17—22 I would punctuate thus:

Nulli cura fuit extremos quaerere diuos,
Cum tremeret patrio pendula turba sacro,
Annuaque accenso celebrare parilia faeno.
Qualia nunc curto lustra nouantur equo,
Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis.
Ducebant macrae uilia sacra boues.

cura fuit is used in two slightly different senses in 17, 19 'none troubled himself to look for foreign gods', 'none found it a trouble to solemnize the Parilia'. Vesta's processions were made with donkeys wearing wreaths of loaves, like the procession at the present time of the October horse, similarly wreathed with loaves, according to Paulus, p. 220 M. *Panibus redimibant caput equi immolati Idibus Octobribus in Campo Martio, quia id sacrificium fiebat ob frugum euentum, et equus potius quam bos immolabatur, quod hic bello, bos frugibus pariendis est aptus.*

IV. 4. 55. I follow Bährens in considering *Sic hospes patiare tua regina sub aula* as the least corrupt form of MS. tradition here. He reads *Sim compar patiare,* why not *Sim sospes patiare,* 'suffer me to escape death for betraying my country, by making me your queen'? I see that Kuinoel has already proposed *Sis sospes pariamque.*

IV. 7. 57.

Vna Clytaemnestrae stuprum uehit altera Cressae
Portat mentitae lignea monstra bouis.
Ecce coronato pars altera parta phasello
Mulcet ubi Elysias aura beata rosas.

Bährens' conj. *Vnda Clyt. stupro simul altera Cressae* is elegant, but in my opinion not much more probable than Palmer's *Vna Clyt. stuprum ratis altera Cressam Portat mentitam l. m. bouis.* A note of Heinsius on F. I. 373 shows that there and Pont. IV. 4. 10 *adulterat* has been corrupted into *et alterat.* The same change I believe to have happened here, *uehit altera* for *uel et altera* for *uel adultera,* 'the adulterous monster of wood, the counterfeit cow of Crete', or 'that was the dame of Crete'. In v. 60 Bährens' *rapta* or possibly *tracta* seems preferable to *adacta* or *uecta.*

R. ELLIS.

THE TREATY BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE IN THE FIRST CONSULATE.

THE treaty made between Rome and Carthage in the first Consulate is of the highest importance for the early Roman history. Until a very recent period, its authenticity has been acknowledged even by the most sceptical critics, among whom may be mentioned Beaufort, the *ductor dubitantium* even of the German Pyrrhonists; Niebuhr, who remarks: "This treaty is as genuine as anything can be, and it is a strange fancy of a man otherwise very estimable (U. Becker) to look upon it as a forgery of Polybius" (*Lectures,* p. 130); Schwegler, who observes (§ 8) that the treaty of Servius Tullius with the Latins, that with Carthage, and that with Sp. Cassius are boundary stones which restrain an unlimited scepticism, and which will not be doubted by any discreet historical inquirer. Nay, even Dr Theodore Mommsen had in the first editions of his *Roman History* accepted the treaty as a genuine one.

He has given the reasons for his change of opinion in his *Chronologie,* p. 320, which has been put into English by Mr Dickson in the third edition of his translation of Dr M.'s *History* (Vol. I. pp. 442, sqq.). The argument mainly rests on some inconsistencies between Polybius and Fabius, the latter of whom Dr M. perhaps rightly assumes to be represented by Diodorus. Polybius (III. 22, sqq.) records the treaties made between Rome and Carthage before the breaking out of the second Punic war, the first of them being that made in the first consulate, A.U.C. 245. Diodorus, on the contrary, says (XVI. 69) that the first treaty with the Carthaginians was made in the year 406; and he is followed by Orosius (III. 7), whose authority, however, is worth little or nothing. Livy also (VII. 27) mentions a treaty with Carthage in 406, but says nothing of its number in the series.

There is here, no doubt, a direct contradiction between Polybius and Diodorus, or Fabius; but Dr Mommsen has overlooked a very important fact, namely, that Polybius expressly meant to differ both from Fabius and Philinus respecting Carthaginian affairs; from Fabius because he was too favourable to the Romans, from Philinus because he inclined too much to the Carthaginians (I. 14), and he directly accuses Fabius of being a manifestly untrustworthy author, although a Roman senator, and contemporary with the events which he relates (III. 9). When a grave and careful historian, as Polybius is on all hands acknowledged to have been, brings so heavy a charge against a leading authority among the Romans, and assigns the grounds on which he differs from him, it would be absurd to suppose that he would not have taken even more than his usual care in treating the subject on which they differed. To have adduced as genuine and still extant a treaty whose spuriousness and non-existence might have been so easily proved would have covered him with ridicule, and put an end at once to his reputation as an historian.

Dr Mommsen maintains (p. 443) that Polybius "either gained his knowledge of the Carthaginian treaties from the oral communications of Cato, or of some third person, or derived them from Cato's historical work."

It is plain that these three assertions rest on no authority whatever; that they are in fact mere guesses, and that Dr M., since he rejects Polybius' own account, has no means of knowing the way in which he gained his information. But how strange a theory it is that Polybius should have got these treaties by oral communication! The invalidity of oral testimony is a favourite argument with the impugners of the early history, yet Dr M. can think it capable of handing down, not some remarkable event, not the names and some of the acts of a few kings, but the *verbatim* texts of treaties made some centuries before!

If Polybius took these treaties from Cato, he could not have gone to a better source; and we should have his authority backed by that of one of the honestest men and most learned antiquaries among the Romans. Any charge of forgery I here put out of the question; I presume that Dr M. would not be inclined to bring it against men like Cato and Polybius; nor has he done so. But he leaves out a fourth supposition, and no doubt the true one—that Polybius saw the treaties with his own eyes. The first treaty, of which he gives a *verbatim* translation, was in such antique language that the best-skilled antiquaries found difficulty in interpreting some parts of it (III. 22). Is it credible that a man of Polybius' dignity and good faith should have written down so impudent a falsehood?

Dr Mommsen goes on to remark a discrepancy in the sequence of the treaties as recorded by Fabius (*i.e.* Diodorus), Livy and Polybius. "Livy," he says, "follows, as he so often does, different authorities—as to 406, Fabius, as to 448 and 475, an authority agreeing with Polybius."

"The position of the testimony therefore is this: the one party reckons the treaties of 245, 448, 475 as first, third and fourth; the other reckons that of 406 as the first, and therefore beyond doubt those of 448, 475, as the second and third. In the first place the latter view is supported by the fact that it has the older authorities in its favour. In the second place it is evident that there were in the Roman archives in Cato's time only two treaties with Carthage which preceded that of 475; which would suit very well if that were the third, but not if it were the fourth treaty, especially as the missing treaty must have been not the first, but either the second or third of the four. In the third place it would be very delightful to meet with a document dating from the legendary period; but on that very account such an occurrence is far from possible."

On this I will remark, that if Livy follows different authorities, that is, authorities which differ, it is impossible that he should be consistent with all of them. Although Livy has sometimes been unjustly assailed, yet it is generally admitted that he was neither very careful in the selection of his authorities, especially for the earlier history, nor very diligent in consulting documents. These points have been well shown by the late Mr Ramsay, in his excellent article on Livy in Dr Smith's *Dictionary of Biography.* In this respect Livy was very far inferior to Polybius, to whose accuracy he bears the most valuable testimony by almost implicitly following his account of the second Punic war. But Livy could not possibly have followed an authority agreeing with Polybius about the treaty of 448; because as I shall presently show, Polybius does not recognize such a treaty.

It is a gross error to say that Livy followed Fabius about the treaty of 406, and that on Dr Mommsen's own showing. For Fabius said that this treaty was the *first,* whilst Livy says no such thing of it (VII. 27). On the contrary, it is plain that he held it to be the *second;* for he calls the supposed treaty of 448 the *third,* and that of 475 the *fourth.* "Cum Carthaginiensibus eodem anno (U.C. 448) fœdus *tertio* renovatum," (IX. 43). "Cum Carthaginiensibus *quarto* (U.C. 475) fœdus renovatum est" (*Epit.* 13). On which Dr M. justly remarks; "This is indisputably the third of Polybius." For Polybius recognizes only two treaties before that against Pyrrhus in 475, which were those of 245 and 406 (III. 22, 24, 25). Dr Mommsen tells us that Cato also found in the Roman archives only two treaties before that of 475; an account which tallies exactly with that of Polybius. But why does Dr M. assume the treaty of 475 to have been the *fourth?* Certainly not from Polybius or Cato. He has taken that date from Livy, who mentions a treaty with the Carthaginians, as I have already said, in 406, without indicating its numeral order. Livy's third treaty—or rather his assumed one, for it was not genuine—must have been that of 448. And now we see why that of 475 was, according to his reckoning, the *fourth.* He had adopted a spurious one from Fabius and Philinus; and he also counted the genuine one in the first consulate, though he had omitted to mention it in its proper place.

The only further question can be, as Dr M. says, whether the treaty of 406, or that of 448, is the one denounced by

Polybius. Now let us observe that in the second, as well as in the first treaty of Polybius, in 245 and 406 (III. 22, 24), some of the Latins are called ὑπήκοοι, or subject to Rome as head of the Latin league. After a long period of abeyance, that league had been renewed in 397, and it is the most natural thing in the world that the previous treaty with Carthage should also have been renewed a few years afterwards. But by 448 the Latins had been completely subdued and reduced under the dominion of Rome; and consequently the Romans would no longer have stipulated for them as subordinate allies. I may add an argument suggested by Dr Mommsen himself. In the second treaty, the Carthaginians stipulated for the Tyrians and Uticans (Polyb. III. 24), an act which would not suit the year 448; for Tyre, which in 406 was still an independent city, had fallen in 421 under the dominion of Alexander. This is the only valuable remark in all Dr M.'s long note; yet on further consideration he rejected its application. It may be added that for the treaties accepted by Polybius there appear to have been adequate motives: for the first two, the protection of Roman and Latin commerce, for the third, the war with Pyrrhus. The next treaty mentioned by Polybius (c. 27) was a natural termination of the second Punic war and Sicilian campaign in 513. But for a treaty in 448 there appears to have been no motive whatever; Livy mentions it quite casually and *à propos* of nothing. Further: the treaty of 406 is supported by the testimony of several authors, whilst that of 448 rests as to its date only on the authority of Livy. This, then, it may be inferred, was the missing, or rather spurious, treaty invented by Philinus, which ran contrary to the former ones. Search had been made for it, but it could not be found, yet many Romans had adopted it (Polyb. III. 26).

Dr Mommsen gets into a hopeless muddle when he says that one party reckons the treaties of 245, 448, 475, as first, third and fourth; the other that of 406 as the first, and therefore those of 448, 475, as second and third. To make that of 475 the *fourth*, there must have been a treaty which he omits in his first enumeration; and instead of two parties there are three: 1. Fabius with Philinus; 2. Cato with Polybius; 3. Livy.

The first of these parties ignores the treaty of 245, and therefore makes that of 475 the third. The second ignores the treaty of 448, and consequently also makes that of 475 the third. But Livy accepts those of 245, 406, 448 and 475; which last he consequently makes the *fourth.* In this he stands alone. I must here submit to the censure pronounced by Dr M. in a note: "It is moreover highly improper when an inconsistency between Fabius and Polybius is established, to explain away the traces of the same inconsistency in Livy." My excuse must be that the inconsistency is not the same. For whilst both Fabius and Polybius make the treaty of 475 the third, but on different grounds, Livy makes it the fourth.

Dr Mommsen, after expressing in the last sentence of the paragraph quoted, the delight he should feel in meeting with a document of what he brands as the "legendary" period, goes on to say: "While all these considerations tell in favour of the earlier and less complicated (?) tradition, in reality neither on internal nor external grounds can the Polybian date be vindicated. The document does not bear internal traces of so great an antiquity; if it lay before us without date, we should simply infer from it that it must be earlier than 416."

The reason why Dr M. fixes on the year 416 as that before which the first treaty must have been made, seems to be that in that year the Latins were finally subjugated, and therefore could no longer have been stipulated for as members of the Latin league, as they are in both the preceding treaties recorded by Polybius. This therefore may be claimed as one of the "external grounds" for the vindication of the Polybian date, since it shows the consistency of the two treaties. But what can Dr M. know about the internal evidence except what he finds in Polybius? And what other conclusion can be drawn from it than that which Polybius himself drew? He had scrutinized the antique characters of the document, had pondered its obsolete words and phrases, and he tells us that they were of so old a date that the most learned antiquaries found difficulty in interpreting some parts of it. Such remarks would not be applicable to the treaty of 406, made less than two centuries before the time of Polybius, and accordingly he says nothing about its language.

I shall not inquire whether the first treaty was signed by the Consuls. It is a matter impossible to ascertain, nor is it material. Subsequent practice affords no ground of inference for the consulship in its noviciate. The authenticity of the treaty and of its date was sufficiently guaranteed by its tenour and language, by the place in which it was originally deposited, and by the records of the ædiles in whose custody it was. The Capitoline temple, in which it was preserved, was dedicated by the first Consuls, and the treaty was naturally placed in it. This and the two following ones with Carthage, engraved on bronze, were kept there; but the first two treaties were ratified with an oath to Jupiter Lapis, whilst the third was sworn to by Mars and Quirinus (Polyb. III. 25, sq.).

Dr M. proceeds to say: "The only grounds that remain (*i.e.* in favour of the treaty) are the impossibility of discovering the source of the mistake and the weight of the authority of Polybius."

It is hard to determine what most to admire in this sentence; the assumption that a mistake has been made, the candour with which Dr M. acknowledges his inability to discover its source, or the high esteem he professes for Polybius; whose direct and positive authority he had just rejected in a manner which implies that he has been guilty of a falsehood, and indeed a gross and circumstantial one. With respect to the source of the 'mistake', it is quite certain that Dr M. would have discovered it, had it been possible to do so; and with regard to the authority of Polybius, he goes on to say: "Lastly, the authority of Polybius is undoubtedly in his own field of investigation one of the highest furnished to us by antiquity; but in this case his account refers to an epoch which he did not seek independently to investigate, and as to which he took his facts in good faith from some Roman work. He specifies the year of the foundation of the city, and the duration of the reigns of the kings; but we do not regard fables as converted into history because he has placed them on record. Historical criticism must therefore place the first treaty between Rome and Carthage in 406, and the two following accordingly in 448 and 475. It follows that no proof can be drawn from the statement of Polybius in favour of the historical character of the pair of consuls marking the year at the head of our list; while, conversely, after their unhistorical character has been otherwise demonstrated, the Polybian date necessarily falls with them."

To this I reply that as the second Punic war formed an important part of Polybius' history, he was completely in "his own field of investigation" in tracing the previous connexion between Rome and Carthage. He was not one of those authors who are content with superficial views; he endeavoured to penetrate into the remote causes of the events which he narrated[1], and his work has thus contracted a certain dryness distasteful to those readers who prefer the style and manner of a history to its matter, and would rather be presented with exciting pictures, than with a calm exposition of carefully ascertained facts. Polybius, to insure the correctness of his work, traversed the shores of Asia, Africa and Europe, visited the Atlantic Ocean, and tracked the route of Hannibal over the Alps. Is it probable that so conscientious and diligent an inquirer should have spared himself the trouble of a short walk to the Capitol in order to ascertain the existence of so ancient and important a treaty? Or that he should have asserted it was there, when it was not? Casaubon, in his admirable preface, writes as follows: "Atque antiquissima monumenta, quæ vix pauci e Romanis civibus intelligebant, e Capitolina æde ut promere sibi liceret impetrato, in sermonem Græcum transtulit; ac Romanos ipsos proceres suæ civitatis jura docuit, quæ ipsi ignorabant; et *Fabius quoque Pictor senatorii vir ordinis ignoraverat, qui de Punicis bellis scripserat.*" Whence it appears that a French critic some centuries old was aware of this "discrepancy" which Dr Mommsen adduces as a novelty, and knew that Polybius differed from Fabius of set purpose. I will add that even if Polybius had not been in his own field of investigation, his testimony would have been no less valuable, as in that case the treaty would have been brought to light incidentally and unconnectedly with any narrative, or point to be proved.

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[1] *Διόπερ οὐδὲν οὕτω φυλακτέον καὶ ζητητέον ὡς τὰς αἰτίας ἑκάστου τῶν συμβαινόντων* (iii. 7).

That he took his facts from some Roman work is not only an unfounded assertion, but also contrary to the whole context; which implies that he had inspected the treaty itself. And the mere fact of his differing from Fabius proves that he did not implicitly follow any authority whatever. About the earlier Roman history, which did not directly lie in "his own field of investigation," he may perhaps have followed some Roman author; but we may be sure from his habits that he would have selected the most trustworthy. He lived in the time of the first annalists and had access to the same sources as they; as a foreigner he was not likely to be influenced by partiality; and as one of the soberest and most conscientious of historians, he would not have suffered himself to be misled by wild and fantastic theories. Wherefore his testimony may be claimed as showing that the regal history was not such a pack of "fables" as Dr Mommsen designates it. "Historical criticism," as has been shown, instead of placing the first treaty between Rome and Carthage in 406, will place it in 245; it will not recognize that of 448, and consequently the two following ones are those of 406 and 475. And since Dr M. has altogether misunderstood the subject, the statement of Polybius still remains the best possible proof of the historical character of the first consuls. That their unhistorical character has been otherwise demonstrated I utterly deny. Such a demonstration has indeed been attempted, but it would be easy enough to prove anything if arguments like those of Dr M. about the first treaty are to be accepted as valid.

I have taken the trouble to go through Dr Mommsen's statements about the inconsistencies observable in Fabius, Polybius and Livy in order to show how mistaken they are; but in fact his inference from them is nothing to the purpose, and only calculated to put the reader on a false scent. The question simply is—is Polybius to be believed? On this subject I cannot do better than refer the reader to a letter, printed at the end of this article, with which I was favoured by my friend the late Mr George Long; whose sound common sense and legal knowledge made him an excellent judge of evidence.

If the treaty of 245 is authentic, it is a strong collateral proof that the still earlier treaties which we find mentioned as extant so late as the imperial times are also genuine documents; viz. that of Servius Tullius with the Latins, and that of Tarquinius Superbus with the Gabines. Dionysius had seen the first of these in the temple of Diana on the Aventine, and tells us that it was engraved on a bronze pillar in antique Greek characters (IV. 58). The second treaty was preserved in the temple of Sancus, and was written on an ox-hide, in what language Dionysius says not (IV. 58). But we learn from Horace, in a passage which confirms its existence, that it was in antique Latin:

> Sic fautor veterum ut tabulas peccare vetantes
> Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum
> Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
> Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum,
> Dictitet Albano Musas in monte loquutas.
> (*Epp.* II. 1, 25).

Now it would be fatal to this testimony if it were contradicted by other evidence; but so far from this being the case it is confirmed by it. Then with regard to the places in which the treaties were kept, it has been already shown that that of 245 was naturally placed in the Capitoline temple. That with the Latins was preserved in the older temple of Diana, a deity common to the Greeks and Romans; and it was written in the Greek language, either because at that early period the Latin tongue was not usually employed in writing, or because the Latins, like the early Romans themselves before their mixture with the Sabines, were, it cannot be doubted, a Greek colony, like most of the other settlements on the western coast of Italy. And Horace, by omitting to appeal to this treaty, though the oldest of those extant, as a sample of the Latin language, confirms the testimony of Dionysius that it was in Greek. Sancus, on the other hand, was a peculiarly Roman, or rather originally Sabine god, and thus the treaty with Gabii was appropriately kept in his temple, and written in Latin. Undesigned coincidences like these are among the best proofs of the good faith of a narrative. Besides the treaties just mentioned, there is another of very little later date, that made in 260 by Sp. Cassius with the Latins, which was extant in the time of Cicero (*Pro Balbo*, 23, 53). Its existence is confirmed by Livy (II. 33), and by Dionysius VI. (95). If the testimony of Polybius, Cicero, Livy, Horace and Dionysius to things which came under their own cognizance is to be rejected as utterly valueless, if it should be asserted that they were falsifying, or even that they were mistaken, then we had better shut up our history books, Greek as well as Roman; for antiquity can supply us with no more authentic vouchers for documents no longer existing than the attestation of men of the highest character both for intellect and honesty.

The pains which Dr Mommsen has taken to demolish the treaty of 245 show that he thinks its authenticity would be fatal to his new version of the royal period. And, in fact, it would be absurd to imagine that a people capable of making such a treaty should have been ignorant of their history for at least the preceding century. A nation which had developed its commerce to such an extent as to find it necessary to treat with a distant maritime power like Carthage, must have made a very considerable advance in civilization, and in the arts and manners which attend it. And as this document was extant in the time of Polybius several centuries after its making, it is also a proof how carefully the Romans preserved the records of their early history.

It appears, then, that several important events which occurred under the Tarquinian dynasty are testified by documentary evidence: others are supported by usages founded in that period which survived in later times; and some by vast monumental relics still extant, as the cloaca maxima and the Servian walls. The history of the first Tarquin is confirmed by collateral evidence, which, like undesigned coincidences, is among the best proofs of historical faithfulness. Pliny tells us, after Nepos, that Cleophantus the painter went from Corinth to Italy in the suite of Demaratus, father of Tarquinius Priscus (*N. H.* xxxv. 5). Is it possible to imagine that an unimportant anecdote like this was an arbitrary invention, made to support a history not then questioned? Yet a critic can of course dispose at once of all such arguments by simply asserting that Cleophantus, the history of Corinthian painting, and the reign of Tarquin are all alike fabulous. But to enter into such questions would be to reopen the whole subject of the credibility of early Roman history, for which this is no place, and of which I have already treated at length in the Introduction to my *History of the Kings of Rome*. Whatever may be the value of that treatise, I have not yet seen any satisfactory reply to it, though it has been attacked. I shall, therefore, here content myself with reasserting my general view: that the regal period, from the time of the first Tarquin, is sufficiently authentic; and that if the earlier period, from the accession of Romulus, rests not on such satisfactory evidence, especially with regard to the first two kings, it yet suffices to establish the names of all the kings, and the order and some of the principal events of their reigns. In support of this view I have subjoined another letter of Mr Long's; whose clear intellect and extensive and accurate learning made him a much better judge of such a question than I can pretend to be.

THOS. H. DYER.

June 21, 1880.

Letter of Mr George Long. March 30, 1875.

The evidence for the first treaty between Rome and Carthage would be accepted by an English court of law as sufficient; and I must add that the English are the best judges of evidence of all nations. The original of the treaty cannot be produced, and we must take the next best evidence. We have the evidence of an honest writer, and a man of great ability, that he saw and examined the first treaty, and we have no direct evidence against this evidence. We have other evidence also which indirectly supports it. If then it is necessary for a jury to give a verdict as to the date of this first treaty, it would be a verdict that it was proved. The evidence would be stronger than that which the House of Lords often accepts in the case of the revival of old peerages, or in the decision between claimants to peerages.

It is no answer to the evidence of Polybius that the early Roman history is uncertain, and that much of it cannot be accepted. This one fact must be taken as proved by sufficient evidence. I have not a strong belief in anything so remote as Romulus and Numa, though I accept their historical existence, and a few facts about them. Romulus is the reputed first king, and that may be true. I am not so certain that there was no community on the site of Rome before his time. I am inclined to think that the real origin of Rome is unknown, and that the Romans did not know it.

Another Letter, March 25, 1875.

I have read the cxxxv pages of the *Kings of Rome*. The volume is big and it will be some time before I shall be able to finish it, but I generally end what I begin.

The result of your inquiries and my own thoughts is this: that the Romans had a great number of records civil, religious and legal, from the earliest period of the nation; and this is in accordance with their habits of system and order. The Romans were a very methodical people, as we know, and most careful keepers even of their private accounts. It is a fact that instead of having no evidence of their history they had a great abundance, and much more, I think, than their writers would take the trouble of examining well. I know no nation which has had such a stock of historical materials except the English, which has more than all the rest of Europe.

The loss of this evidence by the Gallic invasion is, I think, much exaggerated. There are many indications that a great deal was preserved. The existence of a census so early is itself a proof of writing and of records.

I don't believe, though sceptical about many things, that Livy looked much into the oldest records, and we may assume safely that he principally rested on the oldest writers; and if he used them with reasonable care, we may have in them what these writers could collect about the earliest times. Livy's merits are literary, oratorical and political, but not military, though he writes so much about battles. I think his political merit is great, and Machiavelli thought so . . . .

About the evidence for Roman history we agree completely, and I think that your Prefatory Dissertation is excellent and unanswerable.

NOTE ON PROPERTIUS.

Nec minor his animis aut si minor ore canorus
  Anseris indocto carmine cessit olor.

PROPERTIUS II. xxxiv. 83—4.

So much is in a name, that ANSER seems to have been condemned to twenty centuries of obloquy merely because he was so called. He is very rarely mentioned by classical writers, indeed. Cicero, perhaps, refers to him as outside Mutina with Antony, 43 B.C. (Phil. XIII. § 11); and Ovid speaks of him in terms of poetical equality with Cinna and Cornificius (Trist. II. 435—6). But to find a disrespectful allusion to him in Verg. Ecl. IX. 36 is unnecessary and injurious to the plain sense of that passage. On the other hand, to suppose (with Teuffel) that he is not thought of, or (with most others) that he is thought contemptuously of, in the present lines of Propertius, leaves them almost hopelessly unintelligible. A simple, and indeed obvious suggestion, that Anser is here spoken of in complimentary terms, like all the other poets grouped in this place as the objects of Propertius' admiration, leads to a good construction and sense. Thus, after praising Virgil's Eclogues and Georgics, the poet says: 'Nor has the swan of Anser with his untutored lay yielded to these spirited poems as their inferior, or, if their inferior, still he is melodious.' (Perhaps *cessit* = 'has died,' and then *minor* alone governs *his animis.*) There appears to be really no evidence that Anser was considered a bad poet by his contemporaries. He could hardly have been so, if (as is not improbable) he is mentioned 'honoris causa' by the hater of bad poets, Catullus, in LXVIII. B. 117 (157).

F. P. SIMPSON.

TRACES OF DIFFERENT DIALECTS IN THE LANGUAGE OF HOMER.

THE object of this paper, as readers of Mr Mahaffy's *History of Classical Greek Literature* will perceive, is to discuss some of the views regarding the Homeric dialect which are put forward by Mr Sayce in his Appendix to the first volume of that work.

That the vocabulary and grammatical forms of Homer do not all belong to the same period of the language is a proposition which Curtius and other recent writers have made sufficiently familiar[1]. It is of the nature of a poetical dialect to preserve words and even inflexions which have ceased to be employed in the speech of ordinary life: and the result is that forms which in reality belong to successive stages of development appear side by side in the same text. The diction of Homer is a conspicuous example of this phenomenon. We find in it a multiplicity of grammatical forms that could hardly have been tolerated in any spoken dialect, but may be supposed to have arisen from the conventional persistence or 'survival' of earlier elements—earlier, that is to say, than the time to which in the main the Homeric language is to be referred. These elements may be called 'archaic' or 'pre-Homeric,' and we must further admit with Curtius that the habitual use of a number of genuine archaic forms would occasionally lead to the creation of others of an imitative or 'pseudo-archaic' character.

Another and a wholly different source of variety in the dialectical forms of Homer is to be found in the circumstances under which the poems were preserved. Interpolation of various kinds, unconscious substitution of later grammatical forms, recension by ancient critics, corruption by transcribers—all these causes have to be allowed for. Consequently, in addition to the pre-Homeric element (which, be it observed, is an integral part of the epic diction), we must admit a post-Homeric or non-Homeric element in the text which has reached us.

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[1] See especially Curtius' article in his *Studien*, IV. p. 471 ff.

The analysis of the epic language made by Mr Sayce goes considerably beyond the recognition of the 'pre-Homeric' and 'post-Homeric' elements:—

> 'In the first place, then, the staple of the Homeric dialect is 'Ionic, but Ionic of three different periods, which may be conveni'ently termed Old Ionic, Middle Ionic, and New Ionic. By New 'Ionic is meant the language of Ionia as it existed in the time of 'Herodotus, and of the greater part of the Ionic inscriptions we 'possess; and it may be considered to date back as far as the begin'ning of the sixth century B.C., to which two or three inscriptions 'belong. For both Old and Middle Ionic we have only the Homeric 'poems themselves, the older grammatical forms of which can be 'determined by a comparison with Sanscrit, Latin, and the other 'allied languages. The new Ionic genitive singular in *-ου*, for ex'ample, presupposes, &c.' (P. 494—5).

Mr Mahaffy understands Mr Sayce to place the date of the 'first origin of the Iliad and Odyssey as complete poems at 'or near the opening of the seventh century B.C.'—in which case the New Ionic element must be due to later recension or corruption. But Mr Sayce includes New Ionic as part of the 'staple' of the dialect; and surely a form like the genitive in *-ου*, which occurs on every page of Homer, cannot have been introduced by any conceivable recension. On the other hand the genitives in *-οο*, of which a few instances have been discovered by the aid of the metre ('Ιλ*ίοο*, Α*ἰόλοο*, *ὅο*, &c.), are assigned to the 'Middle Ionic' period. From their rarity, as well as from the character of the phrases in which they are found, it is evident that they belong to the 'archaic' grammar. I gather therefore that Mr Mahaffy has not quite correctly understood Mr Sayce's view; which is, in substance, that 'Old Ionic' and 'Middle Ionic' are earlier deposits, surviving in Homer side by side with New Ionic. The latest stratum, of course, is that which corresponds most nearly to the dialect actually spoken in the period to which the origin of the poems in their complete form is to be referred.

Before going further, I would enter a protest, which I trust is not hypercritical, against Mr Sayce's use of the term 'period.' We can speak of Old, Middle and New Attic as 'periods' of Attic, and New Ionic as a 'period' of Ionic, because there are documents of known date by which the peculiarities of each can be determined. Mr Sayce's Old and Middle Ionic do not rest on this *kind* of evidence, but only on the circumstance that in certain instances the Homeric text contains earlier and later forms of the same inflexion. This however is insufficient. We may find (*e.g.*) three successive stages of the genitive singular of nouns in *-ος* (viz. *-οιο, -οο, -ου*), and three stages of some other inflexion: but we have still to show that the earliest (or middle, or latest) form of the one is of the same *period* as the earliest (or middle, or latest) form of the other. The genitive in *-οο* is apparently called Middle Ionic, because it is intermediate phonetically between two other Homeric forms, *-οιο* and *-ου*. But we cannot assume that all the forms which are similarly intermediate between two others belong to the same *chronological* period. All that we can do, surely, is to distinguish in some cases, by the light of Homeric usage, between *archaic* or traditional and *living* forms; and again, between the genuine Homeric language and the false forms introduced into the text in the long course of its transmission to our times.

If these considerations are thought to be of a merely *a priori* nature, I would point out that Mr Sayce has evidently found it difficult to determine the forms to be assigned to his Middle Ionic period. He speaks as if there were many cases in which phonetic decay is shown in the transition from Old Ionic to Middle and New Ionic; but the genitive in *-οο* is the only example of a Middle Ionic form that he has actually produced. And even that example is not free from difficulty. For if *-οο* was really distinctive of a period—*i.e.* did not merely exist as a collateral form along with *-οιο*—why is it so rare, while the older *-οιο* is common? The same difficulty—one that goes to the root of Mr Sayce's theory of ‘periods’—recurs in regard to the genitives *νηός* and *νεός*. These forms (printed *νῆος* and *νέος*) are assigned by him to Old and New Ionic respectively. What then was the Middle Ionic form? And if *νηός* is Old Ionic, and consequently archaic, how are we to explain the fact that it is very much commoner than *νεός* in Homer?

In regard to New Ionic we are on more solid ground. It is the dialect known to us from Herodotus and contemporaneous inscriptions: and this dialect, according to Mr Sayce, ‘is substantially identical with that of the New Ionic portions of ‘Homer,’ (p. 503). ‘The proof of this,’ he says, ‘it would take ‘too long to give,’ but he adds a foot-note, which I think it necessary to quote (omitting only references):

> ‘Thus Herodotus and Homer have *τιθεῖσι, ἱεῖσι, διδοῦσι, ῥηγνῦσι* ‘instead of the Attic *τιθέασι*, &c.; Herodotus and Homer alone ‘have the later *εἰμέν* for *ἔσμεν*; Herodotus usually omits the ‘temporal augment, especially before double consonants (e.g. ‘*ἀρρώδεον, ἕρδον, ἀπαλλάσσοντο*) and diphthongs (e.g. *εἴκαζε, αἵρεε*), ‘and drops it in *χρῆν* and the iterative and pluperfect; and Homer ‘uses the New Ionic *εἰς* of Herodotus, as well as the Old Ionic *ἐσσι*. ‘The analogic *διδώσομεν* (Od.) reminds us of *λάμψομαι* in Herodotus, ‘and the latter's *μεμετιμένος* can be paralleled in Homer by similar ‘products of false analogy. The hysterogen *σταίησαν* for *σταῖεν* occurs ‘in the Iliad as well as in Herodotus and Thucydides; the plural ‘terminations *-οιατο -ηατο* and *-εατο*, which alone are found in Homer, ‘are Herodotean, as is also *ἕωθα* (Il. Θ 408), instead of the older ‘*εἴωθα*; and Homer and Herodotus alike have the forms *ἤϊα, ἤϊε,* ‘*ἤϊσαν*. Homer also offers us the Herodotean *φύλακος*, and *μάρτυροι*. ‘Other New Ionicisms will be *ἱστίη* for *ἑστία*, *Πάριος* by the side of ‘*Πάριδος*, and the lost aspirate in *μετάλμενος, ἐπάλμενος, ἐπίστιον*, and ‘*αὐτόδιον*. About ninety iteratives in *-σκον* are met with in Homer, ‘as against only ten in Hesiod. Pindar has three, and the Attic ‘tragedians four, which are plainly adopted from Homer, and none ‘are found in Attic prose. Many, however, occur in Herodotus, ‘though it must be added that all the Homeric iteratives belong to ‘the sigmatic aorist (like *ἐλάσασκε*).’

Unless I have strangely misunderstood Mr Sayce, most of these examples have no bearing on the point at issue. His object is to prove, not that Homeric forms in general, but that the distinctively ‘New Ionic portions of Homer’ are Herodotean. How then does he show—to take the first on the list—that *τιθεῖσι*, &c. belong to the New Ionic portions of Homer?

No other forms of the inflexion are found in Homer; and it is quite possible—nay highly probable—that these date from the earliest periods of Ionic. The same remark applies to *εἰμέν* for *ἐσμέν*, to the omission of the augment, to the plural termination *-οιατο*, to *φύλακος*, *μάρτυροι* and *Πάριος*, to *ἤϊα*, *ἤϊε*, *ἤϊσαν*, and to the iteratives in *-σκον*. There is no reason to think that these belong to the later elements of the Homeric language. Their agreement with Herodotus, therefore, proves nothing.

The list must be further reduced by striking out *χρῆν* (which is not Homeric, and probably not an instance of lost augment), *μετάλμενος* and *ἐπάλμενος* (which follow the indicative *ἆλτο*); also *διδώσομεν* and *λάμψομαι*, where there is no close parallel, and *μεμετιμένος*, to which Mr Sayce suggests none. The form *σταίησαν* only occurs in Homer (and only once); but Mr Sayce may mean it as an instance of the 3 plur. opt. in *-ησαν*. The remaining instances are wholly insufficient to bear the weight of Mr Sayce's conclusion. Admitting them to be genuine forms, and admitting that the number might be considerably increased, they would be amply accounted for by the supposition—in itself a highly probable one—that several forms known to us chiefly from Herodotus had existed as sporadic varieties in the dialect of a much earlier time[1].

But Mr Sayce brings his 'New Ionic portions of Homer' down to post-Herodotean times:—

> 'What is much more remarkable, however, is that the MSS. of 'Homer contain numerous examples of two forms which do not 'appear in New Ionic inscriptions before the beginning of the fourth 'century B.C., and are probably due to Attic influence. These forms 'are those of the genitives in *-ευ* and *-ευς*, instead of the older *-εο* and '*-εος*. Thus we have *ἐμεῦ*, *γένευς*, *θέρευς* (p. 504).'

Here I must pause to draw a broad distinction between *-ευ* for *-εο* and *-ευς* for *-εος*. The genitives *ἐμεῦ*, *σεῦ*, *εὗ* are certainly very common in Homer (ἐμεῦ, for instance, occurs about ninety times); but I do not find that either they or the uncontracted forms ἐμέο, &c. appear on any New Ionic inscriptions. On the other hand the examples of -ευς are not 'numerous' in the MSS., but extremely rare; they are, ἐρέβευς (which occurs twice), θάρσευς (once in the Iliad), θέρευς, γένευς, θάμβευς (once each in the Odyssey). Why the contraction of εο to ευ should be 'due to Attic influence' is not explained. Mr Sayce continues:—

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[1] The last words of Mr Sayce's note contain a mis-statement which is evidently accidental. The fact is, not that 'all the Homeric iteratives belong to the sigmatic aorist,' but that iteratives belonging to the sigmatic aorist are found in Homer only—never (*e.g.*) in Herodotus. As there are twenty-one such aorists in Homer, their absence from Herodotus is a significant fact, and tells against Mr Sayce's theory.

> 'No doubt it is possible that the diphthong in question is a 'scribe's error, introduced when the double syllable εο was pronounced 'by 'synizesis' as one. But this does not alter the really important 'fact of the case. Whether we call it synizesis or anything else, εο is 'in very many instances pronounced as a single syllable in the Ho'meric poems, that is, has become a diphthong. It is quite imma'terial whether this diphthong was sounded exactly in the same way 'as ευ or not. The inscriptions show that before the fourth cen'tury B.C. εο had *not* become a diphthong in New Ionic, and that 'when it did become a diphthong it was represented as ευ.' (*ibid.*).

The whole argument, it will be evident, turns on the assumption that the εο of the inscriptions cannot have stood for a monosyllabic sound.

Now this is so far from being true that the converse error of writing εο for the diphthong ευ is found on inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. (*e.g.* φεογειν and φεογετω, C. I. 2008; Εοπάμονος, C. I. 2221). W. Erman (from whose article in Curtius' *Studien*, v. p. 294, I take these facts) draws the obvious inference that in Ionic εο had been pronounced like ευ long before that time[1].

Mr Sayce's next paragraph carries the lateness of Homeric forms even further:—

> 'But there are some other philological[2] peculiarities in the lan'guage of Homer which seem to imply that the poems were revised

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[1] So Merzdorf (Curt. *Stud.* VIII. p. 166 ff.) concludes that in Ionic the difference between εο and ευ was orthographical rather than phonetic.

[2] I am glad to see that Mr Mahaffy uses 'philological' and 'linguistic,' as opposed terms, thus retaining for the word 'philology' the sense which was given to it by Wolf, Buttmann, and other great founders of the science. It is inconvenient when a term which should have European currency is used in totally different senses in England and Germany.

> ‘and additions made to them here and there as late even as the New ‘Attic period. Thus we find words known to us by Alexandrine use ‘like *βλώσκω*, *στιχεῖν*, *σκάζω*, *κροαίνω* and *στυγεῖν*, *ἔχραισμον* and ‘*παιφάσσω*, which are common to Homer and Apollonius Rhodius, ‘and *ἐρυκανάω*, which elsewhere occurs only in Quintus Smyrnæus. ‘From the post-Homeric *κηκίς* we get the verbal *ἀνε-κήκιε*, and the ‘weak passive future *μιγήσεσθαι* has been formed after the false ‘analogy of forms like *βήσομαι*’ (p. 505).

The list of words common to Homer and Apollonius Rhodius might be indefinitely increased: but does Mr Sayce suppose that the Alexandrine poets (among whom he strangely classes Quintus Smyrnæus) got these words from ‘the New ‘Attic period’? Are these not purely imitative poets—‘the ‘birds of the Muses, that vainly toil with their cackling notes ‘against the Minstrel of Chios[1]?’

In the succeeding pages (505—512) Mr Sayce goes on to show the existence of other dialects than Ionic in the language of the Iliad and the Odyssey. These dialects, he holds, are the Æolic and the Attic. Agreeing as to the absence of Doric, I cannot go with him in regarding it as a proof of the Asiatic origin of Homer. ‘It is difficult,’ he says, ‘to believe that a dialect which had grown up on the soil of either the Peloponnesus ‘or Northern Greece could have remained so thoroughly untainted by Doric forms and words.’ The difficulty—in no case great—disappears if we suppose the Homeric poems to be older than the Dorian migration. The fact that Dorians are only once mentioned in Homer is attributed by Mr Sayce to the national antipathy of the Ionian poets. How then does it happen that Ionians, too, are only once named? In their case the fact is still more significant.

A survey of the Æolisms of Homer leads Mr Sayce to the conclusion that they are survivals from an earlier Æolic poetry:—

> ‘It was among the cities of Æolis, in that very Trojan land in ‘which the scene of the Iliad is laid, that the Greek epic first grew ‘up. From the hands of Æolic bards it passed into those of their ‘Ionic neighbours, but carrying with it memorials and evidences of

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[1] Lang's Theocritus, *Idyl.* VII.

'its origin. Epithets and phrases that had become part of the rhaps'odist's stock-in-trade were interwoven into the Ionic versions of the 'old lays, &c.' (p. 509).

The view which Mr Sayce expresses in this clear and attractive language is supported by high authority, and has the advantage—which the most sceptical historians seem unable to ignore—of being in harmony with 'tradition.' It is the more necessary to consider whether it is confirmed by linguistic evidence. Mr Sayce sees this confirmation in the Æolic words and forms which he finds in Homer, and which according to him are not merely 'archaic,' but are even older than the archaic elements which he calls Middle and Old Ionic. The separation of a stratum lying so deep in the growth of the epic language is evidently a problem of a high order of complexity. Have we then data sufficient for its solution? I can hardly think so.

Mr Sayce indeed considers that 'we can tell with certainty what sounds and grammatical forms are later than others, what are the dialects to which each must be referred,' &c. But he will not find many scholars equally confident, at least in regard to Homeric words[1]. Our materials for the Æolic dialects, for instance, cannot be thought to reach back to the Homeric period, much less to the pre-Homeric Æolian which Mr Sayce supposes. And how do we know that forms which strike us as non-Ionic in Homer do not come from some variety of Ionic of which no other trace has survived?

The Æolisms to which Mr Sayce appeals are of somewhat unequal value for the purposes of his argument. Among them it will be a surprise to Homeric scholars to find the particle *κέν*, 'by the side of the Ionic *ἄν*.' How does Mr Sayce know that *κέν* was *not* Ionic? The particles of a language are not at all likely to bear such a process of translation or adaptation as Mr

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[1] The recent *Griechische Grammatik* of G. Meyer, which is distinguished for the care bestowed on the dialects, says:—'Eine ins einzelne gehende Darstellung der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse 'aller griechischen Mundarten unter 'einander zu geben ist auch die jetzige 'Wissenschaft noch nicht im Stande, 'der für die älteren Phasen sämmt'licher Dialecte ein über alle Massen 'trümmerhaftes Material zu Gebote 'steht.' (p. xii).

Sayce's theory involves; and the Homeric use of *κέν*, in particular, is so consistent, and answers so nicely to the shades of thought, that it must have been thoroughly familiar to poets and hearers alike. A similar line of argument will apply (though with less force) to the so-called Æolic forms of the pronouns (*ἄμμες*, *ὔμμες* or *ὕμμες*, &c.). Why not extend to them the explanation which Mr Sayce gives of the 'Doric' *τεΐν* and *τύνη*—simply saying that they are archaic forms which belonged to Old Ionic as well as to Æolic? The remainder of Mr Sayce's list is of a very different character, consisting mainly (as he himself observes) of honorary epithets (*ζάθεος*, *ἀμύμων*, *νεφεληγερέτα*, &c.) and proper names (*Φῆρες*, *Θερσίτης*, &c. The question then is,—must these words have reached Homer through earlier Ionic poets, who took them from the lays of still earlier Æolic bards? Or may they not have crept into the poetical Ionic directly, from the lips of Æolic-speaking Greeks? The latter is certainly the more obvious supposition, and seems to give a sufficiently probable account of the facts. The Greek dialects were mutually intelligible: Ionic poetry gained its ascendancy and almost pan-Hellenic character at a very early period: and in such a case a national literary dialect readily adopts any words that it finds associated with religious or local sentiment. Under these circumstances we cannot think it strange if certain Æolic words—let us say rather, certain words of one or other of the types recognised afterwards (often on the slenderest grounds) as Æolic—passed into the common poetical stock. We may at all events be satisfied with this hypothesis until it is shown that there are words in question which one dialect of a language would not be likely to borrow from another.

The forms which Mr Sayce gives as specimens of 'Attic colouring' in the poems appear to me to be no less in want of critical sifting:—

> 'Thus we have the accusatives Τυδῆ, Μηκιστῆ, 'Οδυσῆ, like *ἱερῆ* in
> 'Euripides (Alc. 25); *θεά* used sixty times in place of the older *θεός*;
> '*νώ* occurring twice, *σφώ* once, *σφῶν* once, and *σφίσι* fifty-five times;
> 'contracted futures like *κτενεῖ*, *τελεῖ* and *κομιῶ* [once each], *ἀγλαιεῖσ-*
> '*θαι* [twice]; heterogen aorists like *ἔπεσον*; and optatives like *ἐπι-*

'*σχοίης* with *ο* instead *ε*[1], and the termination dropped in the third 'person singular (*ὑπέρσχοι* for *ὑπερσχοίη[τ]*)" (p. 510).

Here the rule which Mr Sayce rightly lays down, that forms which also occur in New Ionic ought not to count, excludes not only *κομιῶ* and *ἀγλαιεῖσθαι* (as he notices), but also *σφίσι* and *ἔπεσον*. Also, *θεά* (which occurs about 200 times) is supported by the archaic genitive plural *θεάων*. His conclusion—that the poems 'underwent a process of manipulation' in Attica—is one for which the evidence produced, I venture to think, is wholly insufficient.

The conclusions which Mr Sayce reaches from an examination of the dialectical forms are further confirmed, according to him, 'by the occurrence in Homer of words and forms which 'are the product of false analogy, and owe their existence to 'the misinterpretation of the older part of the Homeric language.' This is an element in the formation of the epic dialect which up to a certain point every one would be ready to recognise. Archaic language can hardly be retained without occasionally becoming false to the original usage, and so giving rise to pseudo-archaisms[2]. But when Mr Sayce tells us that 'a large part of the Iliad and Odyssey is composed in quite 'as artificial a language as the epics of Apollonius Rhodius or 'Quintus Smyrnæus' (p. 499), he is asserting what only the amplest evidence would justify. I must content myself here with a short specimen of his examples of false analogy. He speaks of—

> '—the false presents *εἴκω*, *πεφεύγω*, *ἀνώγω*, *πεφράδω*, &c. from the 'perfects *εἶκα* (= *ἔοικα*), *πέφευγα*, *ἄνωγα*, *πέφραδα*, which had come to

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[1] This word only occurs once, viz. in Il. 14. 241; Mr Sayce's references to Il. 9. 142, 284 and 11. 838, and to *ἐνέοι* (printed *ἐνεοὶ*) in Herodotus, belong to the next note. It may be added here that '*Od.* λ. 838' is a mistake for *Il.* Α 838 (due to the misprint λ for Α in Curt. Verb. II. 91), and that *Od.* *β* 317 in the next note should be *Od.* *ρ* 317. I cannot see any ground for deriving *ὑπέρ-σχοι* by loss of the termination from *ὑπερσχοίη*, or for regarding it as an Attic peculiarity. On the same principle we should have to suppose the Indicative *ἔσχον*, *ἔσχες*, *ἔσχε*, &c. to be Attic metaplasms for *ἔσχην*, *ἔσχης*, *ἔσχη*, &c.

[2] Curtius himself, for example, regards the form *ἤην* as 'ein aus falscher 'Nachbildung entstandenes Gebilde der 'Sängersprache' (*Stud.* IV. 479).

'be employed in a present sense, or the false futures *χραισμήσω*, '*ἰδήσω*, *τυχήσω*, *πεπιθήσω*, *ἐνισπήσω* formed from the aorist infinitives '*χραισμεῖν*, *ἰδεῖν*, *τυχεῖν*, *πεπιθεῖν*, *ἐνισπεῖν*, which were confounded 'with the present infinitives of contracted verbs in -*έω*' (p. 515).

On this passage I have to remark :—

(1) *εἴκω* need not be formed from the perfect; in point of form it is related to *ἔοικα* as *πείθω* to *πέποιθα*, &c. Moreover, there is only one passage (Il. 18. 520) where it can have the meaning of *ἔοικα*, and there the usual meaning will do quite as well.

(2) *πεφεύγω* is only inferred from the optative *πεφεύγοι* found in Il. 21. 609.

(3) No present *πεφράδω* exists (*ἐπέφραδον* being an aorist); and no perfect *πέφραδα* exists or could be formed.

(4) There are no futures *ἰδήσω*, *τυχήσω* in Homer.

(5) *ἐνισπήσω* is like *σχήσω*, and if Mr Sayce is right about *ὑπέρσχοι* and *ἐνίσποι* (*supra*), these futures are regular (*σπή-σω* from *σπε-*, as *θή-σω* from *θε-*).

Apart however from the criticism to which Mr Sayce's arguments may be open in detail, there are two deductions to which they are *a priori* subject. In the first place the process of creating new forms by false analogy, is one that is always going on in language. How do we know that a given form of the kind is the work of poets or 'rhapsodists,' and not of the people at large? In the second place, as has been already said, we cannot take the existing text as minutely accurate. How do we know that in a given case the influence of false analogy has operated through a poet or rhapsodist, not through an editor or copyist? Mr Sayce is especially bound to allow for this source of error, since he holds that 'the alterations made by the scribes both of 'the Alexandrine and of an earlier period were numerous and 'sometimes revolutionary.' 'No doubt of this can remain,' he adds, 'after the labours of Nauck, Cobet, and Wackernagel.' The labours of these critics (among whom Cobet ought surely to come first) rest on the belief in the original purity and consistency of the Homeric language—a belief which is at the opposite pole to Mr Sayce's theory.

An interesting example of the conflict between the theory of 'affected archaism' and the theory of textual alteration may be found in the problem of the so-called 'diectasis,' viz. the group of forms like *ὁρόω, ὁράᾳς, ὁρόωσα, μνωόμενος*, &c. The explanation of L. Meyer (*K. Z.* X. p. 45), according to which these forms are historically intermediate between *ὁράω, ὁράεις*, &c. and the contracted *ὁρῶ, ὁρᾷς*, &c., has been recently attacked by J. Wackernagel[1], whose main arguments are repeated by Mr Sayce. In Wackernagel's view the true Homeric forms were simply the original *ὁράω, ὁράεις*; then came a time when these were turned into the ordinary contracted *ὁρῶ, ὁρᾷς*, to the ruin of the metre; finally the metre was repaired by lengthening *ω* into *οω* or *ωο*, and *ᾱ* into *αᾱ*. Thus every example of 'diectasis' is restored to its ancient Homeric form. Mr Sayce follows this ingenious hypothesis up to a certain point, but fits it into his general theory by regarding *ὁρόω*, &c., not (with Wackernagel) as archaic forms wrongly written, but as results of 'affected archaism'—a view which is surely much less defensible[2]. For if the inflexion *ὁρόω, ὁράᾳς*, &c. is an imitation, what are the old forms which it imitates?

Mr Sayce rightly says that on his theory it is almost superfluous to ask whether the Iliad and the Odyssey are the production of one author or of two. If the work of the author consisted merely in 'cutting off one portion of the mass of 'epic matter,' and 'throwing it into the shape of a single inde'pendent poem,'—and if this was done in the 'New Ionic period,'—then there can hardly be any difference of character between one poem and another. Agreeing with Mr Sayce in thinking that there is a very sensible difference of tone and manner between the Iliad and the Odyssey, I cannot but regard this as a strong argument against his general theory.

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[1] In Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, IV. p. 259.

[2] When Mr Sayce says that "the so-"called diectasis...has been proved by "Mangold and Wackernagel to be the "result of an affected archaism," he is attributing his own view to Wackernagel. The mention of Mangold is an oversight, as he is a supporter of the opposed theory of 'assimilation.'

In these remarks I have endeavoured rather to estimate the bearing and general value of Mr Sayce's arguments than to examine them in detail. I have therefore omitted many points which seem to me open to question[1]. The result to which

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[1] It seems right that I should at least indicate briefly some of these points:—

1. "The Locrian inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. write *ϝότι* with digamma and not *yod*; and it is therefore better to connect *ὅς* and its derivatives with the Latin *qui*, *quis*, and Sanscrit *chit*, and to regard its lost letter as a digamma." (p. 501). The form *ϝότι* only occurs once, whereas the Locrian inscriptions write *ὅτι* and other derivatives of *ὅς* *seven* times without *ϝ*; see Allen (in Curt. *Stud.* III. p. 252), who thoroughly explains the anomaly. The identification of *quis* with *ὅς* (instead of *τίς*) is surely erroneous, even if *ὅς* has the digamma.

2. "The final *α* of neuters plural and the final *-σι* of datives plural were once long, and Hartel has shown, &c." (p. 502). The *-ι* of the dative *singular* must be meant.

3. The names Thersites, Halitherses, &c. (p. 507) need not be Æolic. The spelling *θέρσος* for *θάρσος* is according to analogy (cp. *μέρ-ος*, *τέρπω*, &c.), so that *θάρσος* may stand to an older **θέρσος* as *πάθος* to *πένθος*.

4. *πίσυρες* (p. 508) is not certainly Æolic; the nearest known form is the Lesbian *πέσσυρες*.

5. The word *ἐληλέδατο* in Od. 7. 95 (p. 512) is not a secure ground for an argument, because there are other readings in the MSS., viz. *ἐληλέατ'* and *ἐρηρέδατ'*. The latter is an ancient variant.

6. Clemm's restoration of *δροτῆτα* (p. 514) for the unmetrical *ἀνδροτῆτα* (giving us a verse ending *λιποῦσα δροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην*) can hardly be right.

7. Mr Sayce (after Mr Paley) construes *δέελὸν δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκεν* (*Il.* 10. 466) as = "he set up a *δέελον* and a *σῆμα*." From the collocation of the words I cannot think this possible, irrespective of the meaning of *δέελον*.

8. The supposition of a masculine *ἀγγελίης* (p. 515) is needless, as was shown by Buttmann in the Lexilogus (*s. v.*).

9. How can it be shown that the true meaning of *πλέες* is 'full' (p. 515)?

10. It is not quite correct to say (p. 516) that according to Curtius the *first* *ε* in the Homeric infinitives in *-εειν* (as *ἰδέειν*) is historically false, or that *φέρειν* is for *φερεῖν*. Curtius supposes *φερε-ϝεν* to become *φέρεεν*, *φέρειν*, and *ἰδέ-ϝεν* to become *ἰδέεν* (wrongly written *ἰδέειν*), *ἰδεῖν*. Thus it is the substitution of *ει* for the *second* *ε* of *-εεν* that makes the forms in *-εειν* historically false.

11. "A form like *ἐείσατό*, from *εἶμι*, has evidently been coined for merely metrical reasons after the analogy of words like *ἔειπον* and *ἐείσατο* (from *vid*, 'to wit'), where the hiatus really represents a lost digamma" (p. 494). The use of *ἐείσατο* in Homer gives no support to this violent hypothesis. It is doubtless the corresponding form to the Sanscrit *ayāsam*, *ayāsisham*, and is properly to be written *ἐήσατο* (as Wackernagel suggests in the article already referred to).

12. *δέχομαι* is given (p. 519) as an instance of the "appearance of an aspirated letter in many words which retain a simple *tenuis* in the Ionic of Herodotus." What other instances are there?

I am led is in substance the view maintained by Curtius in the excellent article already referred to, viz. that (due allowance being made for textual corruption) the language of the Homeric poems is a consistent literary dialect, of higher antiquity than any other known form of Greek. And this I believe to be in the main the view held by all the writers (except Mr Paley) who are quoted by Mr Sayce as authorities.

It is hardly necessary to add that the fault which I find with Mr Sayce's views in matters of Greek philology is quite compatible with a due recognition of the value of his work in less trodden directions. In all subjects, too, it is desirable that scholars should be ready to put forward hypotheses, for other scholars to confute or verify. In the present case I think it is chiefly to be regretted that such speculations should form part of a work so well adapted otherwise for readers who cannot undertake for themselves the task of verification.

13. "The old genitive in *-αων* always occupies a fixed place (except in *Il.* Σ 364 and Ω 615, and in the case of *τάων*). That fixed place is &c." (p. 495 *foot-note*). The two places referred to are not exceptions to the rule which follows. The "fixed place" proves to be not *one*, but a choice of three or four; and considering the metrical form of the genitives in *-αων* it is hard to see what other places they could well have in the verse.

14. Note regarding the list of words on p. 520 that:—*κτῆμα* is found in both poems: *κοιτή* (*sic*) in the next list should be *κοῖτος*; the meanings of *ἡγεμών* should be reversed ('chief' in the *Il.*, 'guide' in the *Od.*; unless we prefer to say 'leader' in both). Surely *ζωστήρ* 'a belt' may mean a warrior's or a swineherd's, according to the context; and so in other cases.

15. "The national Epics of ancient Greece, like the national Epics of all other people — the Mahābhārata of India, the Edda of Scandinavia, the Nibelungen Lied of Germany, the Kalevala of the Finns—grew up slowly, &c." (p. 519). Where is the evidence for these propositions to be found? The Edda can hardly be called an epic: the Nibelungenlied is in all probability the work of a known poet, who invented the stanza in which it is composed. Can the others be said to offer any real analogy to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*?

D. B. MONRO.

THE ROMAN CURIAE.

In theorising upon the structure and growth of primitive societies we are too apt to regard their early history as one merely of continuous expansion and consolidation. The family is represented as expanding into the clan, the clan into the tribe, and from a union of tribes results the State[1]. We will not here discuss the question whether this order of succession is the true one—or whether the respective positions of "clan" and "family" ought not to be inverted. But it is important to remember that there is another side to the picture, and other factors to be taken into account. We have first of all the momentous change from a migratory to a settled life, and this by itself seems to have formed a new point of departure in the development of the community. The homestead, the village, and the city, as well as the township and canton, are divisions which arise out of the conditions of settled life, and which constantly tended to cross and even ultimately to obliterate in the same society the older grouping by clan and tribe. But further, this settling down of a clan or people almost necessarily implied conquest; for the new homes had to be won by the sword before they could be enjoyed.

In early tradition and history, migration and conquest are phenomena which constantly recur. *Φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν* Ἑλλὰς *καλουμένη*, says Thucydides in a familiar passage[2], *οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες βιαζόμενοι ὑπό τινων ἀεὶ πλειόνων.*

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[1] Lange, Röm. Alterth. i. passim. Maine, Anct. Law, p. 128. Cox, General Hist. of Greece, p. 11.

[2] Thuc. i. 2.

And what Thucydides says of Greece applies with at least equal force to ancient Italy. Wave after wave of peoples rolled down the central chain of the Apennines and overflowed into the coastlands of Latium to the west, and into Apulia and Lucania to the south. The institution of the "ver sacrum[1]" points back to a state of things in which migration and conquest were continually leading to the formation of new peoples and societies.

And on conquest followed the allotment of the conquered land among the victorious host. It did so as we know in the cases of the Saxon invaders of England and of the Jews in Palestine. In Greece, remembering how ubiquitous are the traditions of conquest, we may with great probability see, in the use of "κλῆρος" for a private "lot" of land, a surviving trace of the accompanying allotment, even though the practice of dividing land by lot must be traced back to a more remote antiquity[2]. M. de Laveleye[3] has with great ingenuity interpreted the classical traditions of an originally equal distribution of land as faint recollections of the equal share of the land of the commune, anciently enjoyed by each of its members. But in two instances at least, the tradition connects itself more easily and naturally with the equal division of conquered territory among the conquerors. In Laconia, where Lycurgus was believed to have distributed the land in equal portions among the Spartiatai, it is difficult to mistake the history of the belief. Laconia had been gradually won at the sword's point: each fresh accession of territory was probably followed, as we are told was the case when Messenia was won[4], by the creation of a number of κλῆροι, presumably equal in size. In time the whole land would have been thus parcelled out. Gradually, the separate holdings would accumulate in a few hands—some persons would have many lots, some not one; but, as in Italy, an original κλῆρος might still remain distinguished by its ancient boundaries, and possibly by the name of its ancient possessor, even after it had been merged with others in a single estate. Such surviving κλῆροι were rightly interpreted as relics of an ancient equal distribution of the land; the fact that this distribution had been a gradual work was forgotten, and it was characteristically represented as a work carried through at one time and by a single legislator. Similarly the Roman antiquarians of the first and second centuries before Christ found all around them like traces of allotments of land in equal shares, and drew the same inference from them. The settlement by the Tiber of warriors from the Sabine hills underlies all the various forms in which the story of the beginnings of the Roman State is told; it is, so to speak, the decisive "moment" in its early history. The land of the State is "land taken from an enemy[1]," the symbol of proprietary right in the land is the spear[2]. The private estate is the "lot[3]" (sors). When therefore we are told by Varro[4] that Romulus at the first allotted to each man two "jugera," we need not suppose that this was merely an illusory inference from later practice. It is at least as likely that the practice of allotting conquered land, which Rome pursued with such regularity in historical times, had its origin far back in prehistoric antiquity, and that in conformity with an ancient usage, by no means peculiar even to Italy, the Sabine warriors divided among themselves the lands they had won by the Tiber. Taken apart from a preceding conquest such an allotment is as incredible as it is credible when regarded as following immediately upon it, and we must remember that in better known cases[5], it is the warriors who have effected the conquest who primarily benefit by the allotment. The division of the land follows the divisions of the host, and the warrior and his descendants are bound as holders of land won by the sword to render military service in return.

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[1] Nissen, Templum, 154 sqq. Cf. Varro, Re Rust. iii. 16. Festus 158.

[2] It is worth noticing that according to some philologists "δῆμος" (δα- δε- to divide) = "ager divisus." Vanicek, Etym. Wörterb. i. 323.

[3] Primitive Property, chap. 10. He has not however distinguished with sufficient clearness between the traditions of an equal distribution of land in separate lots, and the possibly older ones of a time when the land was not divided into lots at all, e.g. in Virg. Georg. i. 125. Nor did allotment of land after conquest exclude the communal system—as will be seen below. Cf. also Stubbs, Const. Hist. of England, i. 71 sqq.

[4] Plut. Lyc. 8.

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[1] Pomp. Dig. 49. 15. 20, "publicatur ille ager, qui ex hostibus captus est"; cf. the form of "deditio," Livy i. 38.

[2] Gaius iv. 16, "hasta est signum justi dominii: maxime enim sua esse credebant quae ex hostibus cepissent."

[3] Festus 297 (ed. Müller).

[4] Varro, Re Rust. i. 10.

[5] Stubbs, Const. Hist. of Eng. pp. 71 sqq.

Starting then with a conquest and an allotment, as constituting a decisive epoch in the earliest history of the Roman people, let us pass to the consideration of the "curia," the immediate subject of this paper. We cannot claim for it the high antiquity which belongs to the "gens." It is not Græco-Italic—it does not apparently carry any idea of blood relationship, and it is by common consent classed among the artificial, and not among the natural, divisions of society. So far, however, as we can get at all behind the fact of its existence as a division of the Roman citizen body, we are led to connect it with the Sabine invaders. The goddess worshipped in the chapels of the curiae was Juno Curitis[1], whose Sabine affinities are tolerably plain[2]. Almost as closely connected with the "curiae" was the certainly Sabine Quirinus[3]. The "curia" then may have been known as a division among the Sabines, and by them transferred to Rome. We notice next that it wears the appearance in Rome of a division primarily military. It is only to a division of the people assembled for war that much in the traditional accounts of the curia is applicable[4]. It is the host of the patrician Quirites, the organisation of which Dionysius describes in the seventh chapter of his second book. We have first of all the three tribes, the leaders of which were the *χιλίαρχοι*, the "captains of thousands" (cf. Varro, L. L. v. 89, "trium milium primo legio fiebat, ac singulae tribus...milia singula mittebant"). The tribe was then subdivided into ten curiae, and for "curia" here Dionysius gives as an equivalent not only his usual *φράτρα* but also the military *λόχος*. At the head of each curia was a *λοχαγός*, and finally the curia was subdivided into *δεκάδες*, the obvious equivalent for "decuria," the company of "ten" which so frequently appears as the military unit, else-

[1] Dionys. ii. 50.

[2] Preller, Röm. Myth. 248.

[3] Varro, L. L. vi. 13. Festus 254.

[4] Plut. Rom. 13, *κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, πρῶτον μὲν...εἰς συνταγματα στρατιωτικὰ διεῖλεν.*

where than in Rome[1]. Here then we have the primitive host with its tribes, curies and decuries, its captains of thousands, of hundreds, and of tens, the traces of which are still dimly visible in the later so-called Servian system[2].

The "curia" then, whatever its previous history may have been, was simply a division of Sabine warriors, when it was first brought to Rome. But at this point the conquest and the allotment of the conquered territory step in to give it new significance. We are told that, when the Saxon leader proceeded to divide the land he had won, he found the principle of this allotment in the organisation of his host. "That host was the people in arms, divided into hundreds of warriors"—"when the war was over the host became again the people: the hundreds of warriors would require a territory in the new land," and this when allotted to them they would subdivide according to the divisions of the kindreds. The same high authority comes elsewhere to the conclusion[4] "that under the name of geographical hundreds we have the variously-sized districts in which the hundred warriors settled." So we may suppose that in Rome the divisions of the host governed the division of the territory. Thus it is that the "curia" appears in our authorities, as a territorial as well as a military division. [Cf. Dionys. II. 7, *διελὼν τὴν γῆν εἰς τριάκοντα κλήρους ἴσους ἑκάστῃ φράτρᾳ κλῆρον ἀπέδωκεν ἕνα.* Varro, L. L. v. 55, "ager Romanus primum divisus in partes tres a quo tribus appellata." Fest. 285, "quo ritu condantur urbes...quo jure portae, quo modo tribus, curia, centuria distribuantur."]

We know further, that in later times, by the Roman method of allotment[5], the lots were not directly assigned to individual recipients, but the whole territory to be dealt with was first broken up into "centuriae," usually of the legitimate size of 200 jugera; the recipients were then similarly divided into groups, varying in number according to the size of the individual lots, and the consequent number of lots into which the centuria was divisible, so that if lots were to be 20 jugera, each group would consist of 10 men. The "centuriae" were then allotted to these groups, and finally came the partition of the "centuria" among the members of the group to whose share it had fallen. These joint holders of a "centuria" were said to be "consortes," and the land they shared a "consortium[1]." It is tempting to see in this allotment by groups a survival of the times when allotment followed on conquest, and the allottees were the warriors of the host whose military grouping, with its close ties of comradeship and probably of kinship also, was thus retained under their new circumstances. And the supposition is rendered more probable by the military associations connected with the business of "assignatio": associations which are almost certainly older than the military colonies of the empire. (Cf. Agrim. II. 356, ed. Lachmann.)

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[1] Stubbs, Const. Hist. Eng. i. 82, note.

[2] Mommsen, Röm. Tribus, 138.

[3] Stubbs, Const. Hist. Eng. i. 71.

[4] Stubbs, Const. Hist. Eng. i. 98.

[5] Agrimensores (ed. Lachmann) ii. 367.

We may conceive then the "curiae" of warriors settled down as groups of "consortes" on the conquered land, like the Saxon "hundreds" in England. That in addition to the separate lots ("haeredia") of the individual members each "curia" received also a certain amount of "common land" may be assumed with safety, but we need not pledge ourselves to the conjecture, attractive as it is, that each warrior's lot consisted of the traditional two jugera and each curia of 100 warriors (Varro, Re Rust. I. 10), giving for the private, as distinct from the common land of the curia, a "centuria" of 200 jugera. (Cf. Dionys. II. 7. Buhl, Agrar. Frage, p. 9. Schwegler, R. G. I. 614.) The name borne by the territorial curia would be determined in various ways, in some cases by that of the district in which it was situated, (cf. Plut. Rom. 20, *πολλαὶ γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων τὰς προσηγορίας*, *e.g.* Foriensis, Veliensis, Fest. 174), and in others perhaps by that of the clan most largely represented among its members. (Dionys. II. 47, *ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ληφθέντα ἡγεμόνων*, *e.g.* Faucia, Fest. *l.c.*)

That the "consortes" of the curia under its new aspect should form a corporation, is what every student of classical antiquity at least would expect, and there is abundant evidence that this was the case. Each curia had its own "headman" (curio), its own common hearth and hall, its chapel with priests (flamines) and "sacra" situated apparently on the healthier and safer ground above the river, while on the slope of the Palatine stood a sanctuary common to them all, in which they met for common worship and to celebrate their common festivals (Varro, L. L. v. 85, 155. Fest. 62, 64. Dionys. II. 23, 65. Becker, R. Alt. I. 2, pp. 33, 34). Such traces of this corporate existence of the territorial curia as survived in later times illustrate aptly enough its agrarian character. The religious arrangements which Dionysius observed in the curial chapels point to the simple rustic worship of husbandmen. "I wondered," he says, (II. 23) "to see banquets spread for the gods on primitive wooden tables ("curiales mensae," Fest. 64[1]) in baskets of reeds or in earthen trenchers." And the offerings were equally simple. "Cakes of meal, fruits of the earth," and "other such plain and inexpensive things." It is noticeable too that the festival which in Ovid's time was still intimately connected with the "curiae" was of the same agrarian type. At the Fornacalia the early occupiers of the "curia" celebrated the first enjoyment of the last year's crops, and invoked a blessing on those of the year to come (cf. Ovid, Fast. II. 511 sqq. Plin. H. N. 18. 2. Fest. 83, 93), and a similarly agricultural character belonged to another festival connected with them, the "Fordicidia." (Varro, L. L. VI. 15, "eo die publice immolantur boves praegnantes in curiis complures." Preller, Röm. Myth. 406.)

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[1] Agrim. ii. 367, the boundary marks which the "consortes" set up between their "sortes" were "consortales lineae." See *ib.* i. 211.

But we have still another aspect of the curia to notice. In primitive societies, there is a close connexion between military service and political rights[2], and with both is commonly joined the possession of land. If the host was usually nothing but the people in arms, the people assembled for political purposes was in fact the host. Hence the same division by which the Roman army was organised, and the "ager Romanus" divided, was that also by which the citizens voted in their "comitia," and just as the later assembly of the people by their centuries was the "exercitus[1]," so the older assembly by curies simply reproduced the military divisions of an earlier time.

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[1] These τράπεζαι or "mensae" both in Greece and Italy preceded the regular altars.

[2] Schwegler, R. G. i. 1, 496.

Thus the "curia" was at once a military, a territorial, and a political division of the "populus Romanus Quiritium,"—and the intimate connexion between these three aspects is shown by the fact that the system of tribes and centuries which succeeded to it brought with it a threefold change. It involved, that is to say, a fresh division of the Roman territory, a reorganisation of the Roman army, and a reconstitution of the Roman assembly[2].

The connexion of the curia with the gens has been unnecessarily complicated by Niebuhr's identification of the gentes with the δεκάδες of Dionysius, and since his time the "curia" has been very commonly regarded as an association of gentes[3]. But Niebuhr's hypothesis loses its last element of probability if we reject, as is now generally and rightly done, his view of the Roman "gens" as a purely artificial institution, such as the δεκάδες certainly were. The truth seems to be that all members of a curia were members of some gens, and both in the host and in their allotted districts may have grouped themselves, as the Saxon warriors did, by their kindreds. But there is not the slightest evidence to support the view that the "gens" was a recognised subdivision of the curia in any one of its three aspects, or to preclude the supposition that the members of one and the same gens might belong to different curiae. Had the "gens" been really taken as the lowest official subdivision of the people, it would almost certainly have figured at least in the political assembly; but in the "comitia curiata," so far as we know, no lower group than the "curia" was recognised, and within each "curia" the votes seem to have been taken not by "gentes" but "viritim." Lastly, if, as Niebuhr assumes, the "gens" was merely a subdivision of the curia, differing from it in degree, but not in kind, it is difficult to understand why the "sacra" of the former should have been treated as "privata," and those of the "curia" as "publica[4]."

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[1] Varro, L. L. vi. 88. 93. 95.

[2] Mommsen, R. Tribus, cap. ii.

[3] Niebuhr, Rom. H. i. 315 sqq. Schwegler, R. G. i. 612. Becker, R. Alt. i. 2. 35.

[4] Varro, L. L. vi. 45, "ubi cura sa-

The etymology of "curia" would seem to be still an open question. Even the old Varronian derivation from "cura," "curare[1]," has at least one modern adherent (Genz, Patric. Rom. p. 32), and apart from this, we are left to a choice between three explanations of the word, each of which has good authority in its favour, while none of them interferes with our theory of the institution.

If, with Mommsen, we take "curia" as = "co-viria" (cf. decuria, centuria. Osc. "vereia" = viria. Momms. Unterit. Dial. 258, Schwegler, R. G. I. 496. 610, Pott, Et. F. II. 493), i.e. "a company," or with Becker, as derived from "curis," and meaning therefore "a body of spearmen" (Becker, Röm. Alt. I. 2. 32. Cf. Preller, Röm. Myth. 248), the term is equally applicable to what we conceive to have been the primary application of "curia," viz. to the divisions of the Sabine host. But it is quite possible that, to go further back still, "curia" may have had among the Sabines an earlier meaning. It may have meant, first, the "house," and then the "house-contingent" in the host, and this would suit Corssen's derivation of the word, from a root 'skŭ' meaning to "cover" (Corssen, Vokal. u. Bet. I. 354, curia = (1) Haus, (2) Gemeindehaus; so (3) Genossenschaft). Philological soundness apart, historical probability is on the whole most favourable to a connexion between "curia" and "curis," "Quirites" ("Curetes"). Quirinus and Juno Curitis, or as the name is given on one inscription at least, "Quiritis" (Garrucci, Syll. Inscr. Lat. 837), were the two deities specially connected with the "curiae" (for Quirinus, see Varro, L. L. VI. 13, Fest. 254; for Juno Curitis, Dion. H. II. 50, Fest. 64). Both were represented as warlike divinities, and with both the warlike symbol of the spear was connected. (Cf. Fest. 39, Ovid. Fast. II. 475, Plut. Quaest. R. 87, Ἥρας δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ δόρυ νενόμισται καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῆς δόρατι στηρίζεται τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ Κυρῖτις ἡ θεὸς ἐπωνόμασται. ib. Rom. 29, Fest. 254, "Cui bellantes aqua et vino libabant." Serv. Æn. I. 17, "Sic autem esse

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crorum publica." Fest. 245, "publica sacra...quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curiis, sacellis...privata quae pro singulis hominibus, gentibus fiunt." Dionys. ii. 65.

[1] Varro, L. L. v. 155.

in sacris Tiburtibus constat, ubi sic precantur, 'Juno curitis tuo curru clypeoque tuere meos *curiae* vernulas.'") That the spear, as the sacred symbol of the war-god, should give a name to a people, or a division of a people, is probable enough. It was itself an object of worship (possibly before it was lowered to the rank of a symbol, cf. Plut. Rom. 29), as were also the sacred animals of Mars, the woodpecker and the wolf. And as we have Picentes and Hirpini, the "woodpecker tribe," and the "wolf-tribe," as well as the Marsi, "the children of Mars himself," so the "Quirites" may have been the "spear tribe," and "curia," a "guild of the spear." (Schwegler, I. 496, derives "Quirites" from "curia," = "die in curien gegliederten." Cf. Pott, Et. Forsch. II. 588. Becker, R. Alt. II. 1. 25.)

That the original members of the "curia" were patricians, that is to say, the warriors of the conquering host, is generally allowed, but it is certain that before Ovid's time plebeians had in some form or other gained admission to these corporations. A plebeian was elected for the first time to the office of "curio maximus" in 209 B.C., 545 A.U.C. (Livy, XXVII. 8), and in Ovid's account of the curial festival of the Fornacalia the plebs play a prominent part. (Fasti, II. 511, sqq.) The question how and when this admission of plebeians took place has been a vexed one, but in the light of the view of the "curia" given above it seems capable of solution. There is no necessity to assume with Mommsen[1] that plebeians were ever admitted into the "curiae," regarded as divisions either of the primitive host, or of the primitive political assembly. But from the time of the so-called Servian reform the curia ceased to be a military division altogether, and the political functions of the "curiae" became purely formal. It still however continued to be a territorial division, the curial chapels remained, and the curial rites and festivals were still celebrated. The districts originally assigned to the warriors of the curiae were probably gradually included, like the old pagi, within the area of the growing city. As membership in a curia ceased to carry with it any military or political duties and rights, plebeians resident within the limits of the old curial districts would come to regard themselves as members of the curia, and would take their part in the "sacra," which had no doubt lost all interest for the original patrician members. The boundaries of the different curiae were naturally gradually obscured by the spreading buildings which covered their ancient lands, but the recollection of them would be kept alive by the separate curial chapels and their peculiar rites.

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[1] Mommsen, Röm. Forsch. i. pp. 167, sqq.

The election of a plebeian Curio Maximus in 209 B.C. may be taken as an indication that the "curiae" were then fast becoming merely shadowy divisions of the city territory, whose only *raison d'être* was their connexion with certain ancient worships, and in which the "plebs urbana" was mainly, if not as yet exclusively, interested. In Ovid's time it is clear that both the "curiae" and their festivals had become the special property of the city populace. The old agrarian Festival of the Fornacalia had become a holyday of the poorer townsfolk. The "sacra" were still performed in the various curial chapels, and the Curio Maximus still called the "curiales" to worship, but the worshippers required the assistance of tablets hung up in the Forum to tell them to what curia they belonged, while many even with this assistance went wrong, and had to postpone the performance of their religious duties to a later day. (Ov. Fast. II. 529, "inque foro, multa circum pendente tabella signatur certa curia quaeque nota, stultaque pars populi, quae sit sua curia nescit, sed facit extremo sacra relicta die." Varro, L. L. VI. 13, Fest. 254[1].) It is just possible, too, that it was in connexion with this transformation of the old agricultural "curia" and its festivals, that the "novae curiae" were built. They were erected apparently before Varro's time (L. L. V. 155, "curiae veteres"), and Festus, p. 174, tells us that this was done "quod parum amplae erant veteres a Romulo factae."

And this appropriation of an ancient division of the "Quirites" with its festivals and worships by the "plebs urbana" not only reminds us of the way in which ancient country festivals, such as the Paganalia and Compitalia were gradually left to peasants, freedmen and slaves (Cic. pro domo 28, ad Att. VII. 7; Ovid, Fasti, I. 669), but also throws some light on the passages in which later writers appear to identify the "curiae" with the "tribus." In Paulus, p. 49, we read that to the old thirty curiae "postea additae sunt quinque, ita ut in sua quisque curia sacra publica faceret, feriasque observaret," and on p. 54, "cum essent Romae XXXV tribus quae et curiae sunt dictae." The supposition is possibly correct that Paulus' authority here is Augustine, who on Psalm cxxi. remarks, "et una civitas multas curias habet sicut Roma triginta quinque curias habet populi. hae dicuntur tribus." And it is suggested that Augustine merely meant to explain to his African compatriots that the "curiae" with which they were familiar[1] were represented at Rome by "tribus." Similarly Tertullian's African extraction is urged in explanation of the passage in which he couples together "tribus" and "curiae," Apol. 39, "tot tribubus et curiis et decuriis ructantibus acescit aer." Nor by itself can much stress be laid on the statement of Joannes Lydus, de Mag. I. 16, that the senators were originally taken "ex omnibus curiis, id est, tribubus." Dionysius, however, is a better authority, and in one passage he closely connects the two divisions. He is advocating (IV. 24) greater care in enrolling as citizens, and thus as persons qualified to receive largesses, the motley populace of Rome. He recommends the institution of "censors," who after careful inquiry shall enrol those whom they think worthy in the tribes and curiae, and allow them to reside in the city, *οὒς μὲν ἂν εὕρωσιν ἀξίους τῆς πόλεως ὄντας, εἰς φυλὰς καὶ φράτρας καταγράψουσι καὶ μένειν ἐφήσουσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει.*

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[1] Ovid however clearly recognises the originally agrarian character of the festival, *ib.* 525, "facta dea est Fornax, laeti fornace coloni orant ut fruges temperet illa suas."

I am inclined to think that, though it is an exaggeration to speak of "identification," the "curia" and "tribus" may have been gradually brought into a very intimate connexion with each other, and their numbers consequently equalised. We have seen that by the end of the Republic, the "curiae" had lost all significance as military, territorial and political divisions of the "populus Romanus" and had become the special property of the "plebs urbana." Now it is well known that the thirty-five tribes of the Roman people underwent a very similar change. They had succeeded to the curiae as military, territorial and political divisions of the whole Roman citizen community, and they too, degenerated into associations of the city populace. Though nominal membership in a tribe was still in the first century A.D. a necessary condition of Roman citizenship, it was only in the capital and among the plebs urbana that the tribes still retained any visible existence or any vitality. The imperial distributions of corn at low prices were apparently conducted "tributim," as were the occasional distributions of money. (Mommsen, Röm. Tribus, 194; Tac. Ann. I. 8; Suet. Oct. 101; Plin. Paneg. 25.) The corn to be distributed was stored in the granary of each tribe (Momms. *l.c.* 196; Tac. Ann. XV. 18), and thither probably the tribesman repaired after receiving his "tessera" to buy his share. But it was only the "plebs urbana" as distinct from the higher orders of senators and knights who were interested in these distributions, and thus the "tribes" came to signify merely the humbler tribesmen in Rome who received the corn. Here we have the "plebs urbana XXXV tribuum" of the inscriptions (Willmanns, Ex. Inscr. Lat. 679, 888). In this sense Suetonius contrasts "populus" and "tribus," Oct. 101, "legavit populo Romano quadringenties, tribubus tricies quinquies sestertium." So Martial, 8. 15, "dat populus, dat gratus eques, dat tura senatus, et ditant Latias tertia dona tribus," and Plin. Pan. 25, "locupletata tribus datumque congiarium populo." (Cf. also Tac. Ann. III. 4, XIV. 13.) Of the same sort too were probably the "tribules tribus Claudiae," who are mentioned on an inscription as returning thanks for Trajan's safe return (Orelli, 3062, Momms. R. Trib. p. 14, Note 15). But within these thirty-five tribes of the plebs urbana, even smaller corporations were formed, which also called themselves "tribes" (Momms. R. T. 199). The "corn-ticket" did not properly entitle the recipient to get his corn for nothing, though the price he paid was a low one, but it appears that in each tribe a certain number of "paupers" received "tesserae nummariae" which secured them their quota without any payment at all, and these paupers of the tribe also formed associations which they dignified with the name of "tribes." These most degenerate tribes of all were organised as regular guilds. They had their own officials, their common funds—they feasted together, and followed members of the guild to the grave[1].

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[1] For mentions of "curiae" on African inscriptions see Willmanns, Exempla Inscrr. Lat. 680, 747, 2333, 2351, 2354, 2365, 2367, 2742. Cf. Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, i. 467.

Thus then both these two ancient divisions of the Roman people, the "curia" and the "tribus" had dwindled down into associations of the "plebs urbana," and an attempt to make them coincide is surely not improbable. The members of both would be largely the same. The curiae and their sacra would supply the religious element which had been always wanting to the tribes (Mommsen, R. Trib. pp. 14—20), and which yet was almost a necessity of corporate life in antiquity. The addition of five new curiae would give each tribe a curial chapel for itself, so that, to quote Paulus again (p. 49), "in sua quisque curia sacra publica faceret, feriasque observaret." We must remember too, in connexion with this assimilation of the "curiae" to the tribes in number, that among the plebs urbana, and indeed among all classes in Rome, there would be very many who were more familiar with the curiae as they existed in the municipal towns of Italy and the provinces, where they were in fact "tribes[2]," than with the past history and patrician traditions of the "curiae" in Rome. Finally this intimate connexion between the "curiae" and the "tribus" as religious and secular guilds of the "plebs urbana" may have commenced as early as the time when Dionysius coupled the two together in the passage quoted above—though it is improbable that the addition of the "five curiae" (Paul. 49) can be carried back to the time (before Varro) when the "novae curiae" were built.

H. F. PELHAM.

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[1] Rein, in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie, s. v. tribus. Momms. R. Trib. 205.

[2] For the "curiae" in Italy and the provinces see Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, i. 467 sqq. "die Bürgerschaft war, wie die älteste römische Gemeinde, in 'curiae' getheilt."

OF THE GENUINENESS OF TIBULLUS IV. 13.

(*Read before the Cambridge Philological Society.*)

In an interesting little pamphlet entitled *Tibullische Blätter* (Jena 1876) Professor Baehrens has discussed the chief points connected with Tibullus' life and poems, and amongst them the authorship of books III and IV. These books he regards as spurious with a single exception. His view, which is that of other distinguished Tibulline scholars, I believe in the main to be unquestionably correct. Indeed I was lately led to it myself independently and by a different line of argument. It only remains to be considered whether he is equally right in his exception. His expressions on the subject are very strong. He says (p. 46) 'Das einzige Gedicht, welches bestimmt (nach Vers 13) dem Tibull angehört, ist IV. 13: und dieses trägt auch durchaus den Stempel der Tibullischen Dichtkunst'[1]. I would however submit with considerable confidence that he is wrong and that the facts of the case would be better satisfied by inverting his statement.

As the question of its genuineness depends largely upon considerations of style, I have appended it below.

Nulla tuum nobis subducet femina lectum:
  hoc primum uinctast foedere nostra Venus.
tu mihi sola places: nec iam te praeter in urbe
  formosast oculis ulla puella meis.
atque utinam possis uni mihi bella uideri,
  displiceas aliis: sic ego tutus ero.

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[1] Hence L. Mueller also places it among the genuine poems in his Teubner edition.

nil opus inuidiast; procul absit gloria uulgi;
  qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.
sic ego secretis possim bene uiuere siluis
  qua nulla humano sit uia trita pede.
tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte uel atra
  lumen et in solis tu mihi turba locis.
nunc licet e caelo mittatur amica Tibullo,
  mittetur frustra deficietque Venus.
haec tibi sancta tuae Iunonis numina iuro
  quae sola ante alios est mihi magna deos.
quid facio demens? eheu, mea pignera cedo.
  iuraui stulte; proderat iste timor.
nunc tu fortis eris, nunc tu me audacius ures:
  hoc peperit misero garrula lingua malum.
iam faciam quodcumque uoles: tuus usque manebo
  nec fugiam notae seruitium dominae.
sed Veneris sanctae considam uinctus ad aras:
  haec notat iniustos supplicibusque fauet.

V. 2, the MSS. vary between *uincta, iuncta,* and *uicta.* V. 21, L. Mueller *facias* from Prop. (v. infr.).

The first objection to attributing this poem to Tibullus is one on which I do not propose to lay undue stress, but which I think deserves the attention of scholars. Assuming that the poems in which it is imbedded are spurious, an assumption beyond question correct, is there not some antecedent improbability against its genuineness? Is not the fact of its keeping bad company an argument against its character? But it will be said—and Baehrens urges this objection—that line 13 expressly asserts its Tibulline authorship. This argument is surely nugatory. If the poem is forged, as I believe it is, the shallowest forger even could have hit upon this very obvious device. The best way of passing it off as the work of Tibullus was inserting in it a line which ascribed its authorship to him. There is another rather suspicious circumstance about this line. It is not in Tibullus' manner when speaking directly of himself to use the proper name. The only passages in his genuine poems where he does so are I. 3. 55 and I. 9. 83; in both of which places the proper name is *required*, as the first gives his epitaph and the second is a votive inscription. On the other hand it is significant that this way of referring to himself occurs more than once in Propertius: see for example IV (III). 9 (10). 15 qua primum oculos cepisti ueste *Properti* and III (II). 32 (34). 93. I hope however no one will suspect me of attributing this production to Propertius. Whoever reads it carefully, will see how impossible it is to ascribe it to him or to any poet. It is stiff and vapid and meagre and destitute both of originality in the thoughts and of merit in the execution. Its thoroughly prosaic character is manifest throughout: still I may call attention especially to lines 5 and 6, 7, 11, 13 and 14 and 18. But though neither Tibulline nor Propertian, it contains for its size a great deal of Tibullus and Propertius, especially of the latter, which cries out on the plagiary: stat contra dicitque tibi tua pagina 'fur es.'

Vv. 1, 2. Compare Prop. I. 8. 45 nec mihi rivalis certos *subducit amores;* id. IV (III). 20. 21 namque ubi non certo *uincitur foedere lectus,* (this is in favour of the reading *uincta est*); *Venerem iungere* however occurs in Tibull. I. 9. 76. A similar phrase appears also in Tibullus I. 5. 7 furtiui *foedera lecti. femina nulla* in this connexion is never found in the genuine writings of Tibullus; it is frequent in Propertius. The sense of line 2 *hoc* &c. reminds us of Prop. III (II). 13 (11). 35, 36 hoc mihi perpetuo ius est quod semper amator nec cito desisto nec temere incipio. *primum* is either used for *primo* which is very doubtful Latinity, or else is superfluous. It is a very favourite word of Propertius, e.g. I. 12. 13, 18. 5. —Vv. 3, 4. Prop. II. 7. 19 *tu mihi sola places:* placeam tibi Cynthia solus, &c. Id. V (IV). 4. 32 et *formosa oculis* arma Sabina *meis.*—Vv. 5, 6. *atque utinam* is very common in Propertius; I cannot find it in Tibullus. *bella uideri,* Tibullus' phrase (I. 9. 71 cuidam iuueni uult *bella uideri*) in Propertius' use III (II). 11 (9). 7 mi certe poteris *formosa uideri:* mi formosa sat es si modo saepe uenis, id. I. 2. 26 *uni si qua placet,* culta puella sat est. *sic ego* (also in v. 9) is very common in Propertius. III (II). 4 (14). 14 nam domina iudice *tutus ero.*—Vv. 7, 8. *nil opus inuidia est* is a curious but feeble expression, 'we can dispense with envy.' The pentameter is from Prop. III (II). 20 (18). 29, 30 tu tamen interea, quamuis te diligat illa, *in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu* (see the whole passage; v. 34 is *inuidiam* quod habet non solet esse diu).—Vv. 9, 10. The sentiment is something like that in the Sulpicia elegy 3. 15. *bene uiuere* is a weak imitation of Tib. I. 3. 35 quam *bene uiuebant* Saturno rege.—Vv. 11, 12. The first line and a half seem to consist of thoughts in Propertius toned down to the level of a prosaic imagination; Prop. I. 11. 24, quoted below, id. V (IV). 1. 143 illius arbitrio *noctem lucemque uidebis.* The last bit is rather better: it however shews the same influence, id. I. 14. 36 et *quotcumque uoles,* una *sit ista* tibi, and I. 11. 23, *tu mihi sola domus,* tu, Cynthia, sola parentes, omnia *tu nostrae tempora laetitiae.* *in solis locis* is a Propertian turn; see I. 19. 8 *in caecis* immemor esse *locis,* III (II). 26 (20). 4 (46) pulcra sit *in superis,* si licet, una *locis.*—Vv. 13, 14. I would call particular attention to this couplet. In it the forger has attempted to introduce Tibulline ideas into his composition with miserable failure as the result. The frigid hyperbole of 'having a mistress sent from heaven,' (a proceeding too for which one would like poetical warrant from classical writers[1]), is the way that he employs one of the most beautiful passages in Tibullus (I. 3. 89, 90). The poet is there picturing his return to Delia after an illness and absence: tunc ueniam subito, nec quisquam nuntiet ante, sed uidear *caelo missus adesse* tibi. The pentameter is a vulgar application of Tib. I. 5. 39, 40 saepe aliam tenui: sed iam cum gaudia adirem admonuit dominae *deseruit*que *Venus.*—Vv. 15, 16. The appeal to Juno is Propertian (II. 5. 17) and pseudo-Tibulline (books III and IV). The use of *magnus* is Propertian I. 11. 21 (a poem already referred to) an *mihi sit maior* carae custodia matris? *magnus,* applied to deities, is, of course, common everywhere. [I take this opportunity of observing that Propertius could not have written this line, even if he had been willing to palm a composition on Tibullus: for he never uses *ante* except in the literal sense].—Vv. 17, 18. This couplet contains little that any author might not have written in his least inspired moments. The thought is similar to that in Prop. II. 6. 19 hoc sensi *prodesse* magis: contemnite, amantes; sic hodie ueniet si qua negauit heri.—Vv. 19, 20 are not remarkable in any way. For the pentameter Ovid Am. II. 2. 44 may be compared hoc illi *garrula lingua* dedit. —Vv. 21, 22. The first part sounds like a false echo of Prop. I. 15. 29-32 nulla prius uasto labentur flumina ponto annus et inversas duxerit ante uices quam tua sub nostro mutetur pectore cura: *sis quodcumque uoles,* non aliena tamen. For the rest cf. Prop. I. 4. 3, 4 quid me non pateris, uitae quodcumque sequetur, hoc magis *assueto* ducere *seruitio?*—Vv. 23, 24. *uinctus* is a curious word, whether it means 'garlanded' (Tib. I. 10. 28) or 'like a prisoner' Prop. IV (III). 24. 13, 14 correptus saeuo Veneris torrebar aeno: *uinctus* eram uersas in mea terga manus. *notat* is also a strange use; besides we expect a stronger word like *ulciscitur.* The end of the line is a feeble imitation of Tib. I. 4. 71, 72 blanditiis uult esse locum *Venus* ipsa: querelis *supplicibus,* miseris fletibus illa *fauet.*

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[1] The nearest parallel that I can find is App. Met. II. p. 26 licet illa *caelo deiecta,* mari edita, fluctibus educata, licet, inquam, Venus ipsa fuerit —placere non poterit nec Vulcano suo.

I have thus gone into details which I fear may be somewhat wearisome in order to present scholars with the *whole* of the stylistic evidence for the authorship of these verses. They are either by Tibullus or they are a wilful forgery. No third supposition is possible. For, as we have seen, v. 13 expressly assigns them to him. If we believe them to be genuine, we have first to explain the numerous and in several cases very close agreements with Propertius. We can only do this by supposing either that Tibullus has imitated his successor[1] Propertius and imitated him in this poem alone, or that Propertius has singled out a short poem,—to say the least—of no particular beauty or spirit, for a much more wholesale imitation of Tibullus than we can detect in any other part of his works, I might almost say in the whole of them put together. Further we must assume that Tibullus has himself given enfeebled and degraded expression to ideas which he has elsewhere expressed with spirit and refinement. And we must make these assumptions to save the credit of a composition which is surrounded by pieces of acknowledged spuriousness, and whose poverty and futility are of themselves sufficient to refute its insolent pretensions. I do not wish to insist unduly upon particular correspondences. It is to their accumulation and concurrence that I would rather appeal. Or I will state the decision on a broader issue still. If any scholar or critic of discrimination can read this production and immediately after the same number of lines from the first or second books of Tibullus, and can then pronounce that it is the genuine work of the poet, and 'bears throughout the impress of his poetical art,' and not the cento of a versifier who was as destitute of poetical faculty as he was quick to appropriate 'tags,' I will surrender the question. But I cannot believe this to be possible: or else I could believe anything.

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[1] Ovid Tr. IV. 10. 53 successor fuit hic (Tibullus) tibi, Galle, *Propertius* illi.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Professor Baehrens, to whom I sent these remarks, has done me the honour of a short Latin reply, which I will briefly comment on. (1) He says 'Ego ipsos uersus, ut uersantur in re ludicra, non splendide quidem exornatos, sed apte et simplicitate Tibulliana expressos esse puto.' I do not know what *in re ludicra* exactly means. It seems to me that they are intended to be taken just as seriously as any other poems attributed to Tibullus. I agree that they are not *splendide exornati*, and that they possess *simplicitas;* but it is not *Tibulliana.* I find them not *apte* but *inepte expressos.* However this is a question of taste, and, as Baehrens says, *in tali re non multum ualent argumenta.* (2) He finds in the thoughts only 'flosculos omnium tum poetarum communes,' and thinks that a similar mode of argument might disprove the genuineness of any poem of any Augustan poet. I admit that some of the ideas are common enough. This is to be expected in so commonplace a production. But there are several striking coincidences which make the minor ones of more weight. The attentive reader will easily distinguish between the two. (3) He lays stress on the fact that 'non facile reperies *totam* horum uersuum *conceptionem* apud alium eius aeui elegiarum scriptorem.' I do not quite know what is meant by the *tota conceptio.* The verses seem to me sufficiently incoherent. But supposing the *tota conceptio* is not found elsewhere, what then? It is in the very nature of an imitation which approaches so near a cento as this that its *tota conceptio* should not be like anything else: for a string of phrases can never resemble an original writer's work. So far as Baehrens' argument goes, it would tend to shew that the last part of Ausonius' well-known cento from Virgil is an original poem, as its *tota conceptio* is certainly different from anything else that we find in epic poetry. (4) He urges that it is Augustan in style and is found in the midst of poems that are so also, and that Tibullus' name is attached to it, and therefore that we must beware of doubting its genuineness.

I do not say that it is not Augustan. I do not care whether it is or not. That is not the point. If it was written by Tibullus because it is *attributed* to him, then the rest of books III and IV are written by Tibullus because they are attributed to him. We must either discard the argument from the name altogether or apply it consistently. (5) He asks 'Quidni Tibullus more illo Catulli Propertii Ouidii proprio semel tantum uti potuit? nihilne in his rebus ualet casus?' I am not sure that I understand the appeal to *mos ille* of Catullus, Propertius and Ovid. Surely it cannot be meant that they wrote in the same style. As to the appeal to chance, I am quite prepared to admit that all these coincidences *may* be due to chance and that that goddess in some freak may have ordained that Tibullus should write a poem so little like his own work and so much like an imitator's as this, just as I should admit that it was always possible that even the clearest circumstantial evidence *might* be wrong. But in such cases we must stick to the rules of argument and canons of probability, even though we run a certain risk of being misled. (6) He thinks that it is unlikely that a wilful forgery should have got among the collection of pseudo-Tibulliana, and he remarks that it is due to the '*editor*' entirely that the other pseudo-Tibulline poems are included among the genuine works of Tibullus. This seems to me to be quite an arbitrary supposition. I see no reason why the *editor* should not have included a forged piece amongst the other ones. He was probably less critical than Professor Baehrens; and if the latter may make a mistake about the piece, why could not the former? In conclusion I think it only fair to add that the necessarily brief and hurried nature of Professor Baehrens' criticisms may have caused me to do his view unintentional injustice. If this is the case, I shall be glad to make amends. In the meantime they leave me absolutely unshaken.

⁂ I take this opportunity of asking the readers of the *Journal of Philology* to correct a mis-spelling of K. O. Müller's name (as Muller) in my paper on the Sirens in the last number.

LAST WORDS ON LUCILIUS.

I HOPE to be permitted to make a brief reply to Mr Munro's last attack, Vol. VIII. p. 201 sqq.

1. 'That other word *poesis* is applied to works in their totality, as the Iliad or the Annals of Ennius. And as a consequence, if such a work is admitted to be one, *i.e.* regarded as a whole, it is something much larger in compass, than the *poema* I spoke of before.'

I deny this to be meaningless, and I am sure it is not ungrammatical. Unmetrical it *may* be, but that is the point at issue, and to me at least remains, I am obliged to say, a question still.

2. '*Hŏc* in Lucilius would be a greater portent than in Virgil or Horace.' Munro, p. 203. How *can* this be true? We possess the complete works of Virgil and Horace and know exactly what were the prosodiacal rules which they observed. Of Lucilius we have but fragments, many of them in metres still constructed on the old tragic and comic model, far removed from their subsequent precision. But 'Virgil admits *hĭc*, Lucilius only *hīc*.' In the many thousand lines of the Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid, Virgil has introduced *hĭc* short twice only; how can we tell from the absence of it in the comparatively scanty remains of Lucilius, what he did in his complete works?

3. 'All the evidence we possess, especially that of Lucilius' own fragments, as well as the unvarying usage of all subsequent classical poets, prove Lucilius to have known only *hōc*.' Munro, *ib.* In the index to L. Müller's Lucilius 40 instances of *hoc* nom. or acc. (xi. 6 is a correction of the MSS.) are given; in eight of these only is *hōc* used before a vowel; in the remaining instances it occurs in positions which can no more *prove* that it is long than *nec* could be proved to be so if it pre-

ceded a consonant. As regards the unvarying use of subsequent classical poets, it was the object of my former article to show that Lucilius *was not to be judged by their standard,* a fact, I should have thought, abundantly patent to any one who read any three consecutive pages of the fragments. This position I sought to strengthen by showing what was the use of the scenic poets, who stood nearest to Lucilius in point of time. My quotation from the work of C. F. W. Müller was therefore *not* irrelevant, as I was avowedly moving on uncertain ground, where positive assertion was difficult and all that was possible was a balance of probabilities. If Mr Munro really believes that a question like the scansion of *hoc* and *tametsi* in the scenic writers and Lucilius, as approached from the historical point of view (and this is, I imagine, the only right one), can be treated like a question of ordinary prosody, can be settled as if we were in possession of complete evidence, I must confess myself unable to understand his position. If *tamĕtsi was* shortened by Plautus and Terence, it is an assumption to assert that when it occurs in a Lucilian hexameter with a scansion apparently the same, it is so scanned on a different principle. To compare it with *se ipsum* is misleading, not to say wrong. It is difficult to imagine anyone possessing the least metrical knowledge scanning *sĕ ipsum ;* but if *tamĕtsi* was habitually scanned as a trisyllable by the scenic poets, if *tamētsi* in the strict bacchiacs of Plautus (Pseud. I. 3. 15) is a clear trisyllable, if *tamen etsi* shows that the Romans did not willingly drop the sound of the first part of the word, it requires more careful and prolonged investigation to *prove* that Lucilius elided the *-am* than Mr Munro has yet given it.

4. 'He has abandoned as untenable two of his Lucilian *hocs,* and admits of the third that the support is certainly a very slender one.' Munro, p. 203. This is not true. I have admitted that Mr Munro's emendation makes the two in Velius *doubtful.* Of the third I said 'that if the quantity of *hĭc* rested on this alone, the support is certainly a very slender one.' But the quantity of *hŏc* does *not* rest on this alone.

5. 'He now seeks to change the venue to the grammarians, Diomedes and Pseudo-Probus, whose words have no

more apparent bearing on Lucilius than on Shakespeare.' That is to say, in defect of proof derivable from Lucilius himself, I quoted such evidence from the grammarians as seemed to support my view. It would have been more satisfactory if Mr Munro, instead of making the curious statement above cited, had answered it. Instead of this, he pours ridicule on Diomedes and Probus: 'one of them is utterly unknown; the other belongs to the latter half of the fourth century, and is styled by Reyfferscheid a 'miserrimus grammaticus.' As regards the treatise 'de ultimis syllabis,' ascribed to Probus, Keil, himself rejecting this authorship, contents himself with appending it to the other works of Probus, yet adds in a note that Osann had written a long treatise to prove it an abridgment of a fuller work by a younger Probus. This at least proves that one scholar of unusual erudition regarded it as valuable. The case is very different with Diomedes. Keil places Diomedes and Charisius together, and explains the frequently close correspondence between the two grammarians on the hypothesis that Charisius had Diomedes before him; or in other cases, that both drew from a common source. This alone would prove Diomedes a considerable authority. But Keil goes out of his way to commend one section of Diomedes' treatise as 'memorabilis et plena antiquae eruditionis disputatio,' and following O. Iahn considers it to be drawn from Suetonius, who in his turn drew from Varro. And he ends with this remarkable statement, 'nam illud quod nolebam abunde demonstratum esse videtur, quae ex antiquiore eruditione apud hunc grammaticum restiterunt, eorum maximam partem gravissimis auctoribus Varroni et Probo acceptam videri.' Moreover, the way in which Keil speaks of the emendation and restoration of Diomedes' text (p. xlv.), shows how high a value he sets upon his work. Hence if Diomedes ranked *hic* and *hoc* together as *communes syllabae*, this statement cannot lightly be set aside. Whatever it means, it deserves examination.

6. I now proceed to quote what appears to be the most explicit statement on the quantity of *hoc* in the Roman writers on Metric. Mar. Vict. p. 30. 27, Keil. 'Potest praeterea com-

munis uideri ea syllaba quae apud Vergilium et pro longa et pro breui posita est, hic vel hoc, si a vocali excipiatur. Est enim pro longa Omnibus hic erit unus honos, tres praemia primi, pro breui autem Hic uir hic est. Sed pro breui bis fere tantum; nam ut longa sit et ipsi et omnibus usitatum est.' He proceeds to inquire why *hic hoc* are so generally long, and explains it by the nature of the letter *c*. It is clear from this that Mar. Victorinus regarded both *hic* and *hoc* as *naturally* short syllables, lengthened however habitually by standing before *c*; at p. 36. 6 he calls the vowel of *hic hoc correpta uocalis*, and again explains why it is lengthened. Again, p. 27. 7 he speaks of *hoc* as becoming long by its position before *c*, a letter which has the sound of two.

What follows from this? *Not*, that Victorinus considered *hic, hoc*, as indifferently long or short in the actual usage of classical poetry, for he expressly states that *hic* is only twice shortened by Virgil, but that the vowel in both cases was *naturally* short, and as such occasioned difficulty by the singular fact that it was nearly always used long. *Nearly always*, but still not always. Tibullus has one *hĭc*, Lucretius three (L. Müller, p. 343), Claudian one. If the correct ear of these great masters allowed such a licence, if the fact that *hic* and *hoc* are classed together as *communes syllabae* shows that the *o* no less than the *i* was regarded as naturally short, it seems no improbable or unwarrantable inference that the tradition descended from a time when the quantity of both was still unfixed. It is on such grounds that I believe that *hŏc* was a possibility to Lucilius.

R. ELLIS.

Mr Ellis I think might have called it 'Mr Munro's last defence', as I have on each occasion been maintaining my position against his, on the modest scale of one sentence for his page, one paragraph for his article. He might too I think have found in § 4 some more neutral phrase than 'this is not true', to express the somewhat evanescent difference between us on the point which is there in question.

When divested of the utterly irrelevant concomitants with which he has surrounded them, the matters in dispute between us are reduced to the quantity of *tametsi* and *hoc* in Lucilius. As for the former, if he will get one scholar besides himself to maintain that *tametsi* in Lucilius or any other hexameter poet is or can be metrically any thing but a spondee, that *tămĕtsi* in Lucilius or any other hexameter poet is not, as I have asserted it is, at least as great an absurdity as *sĕĭpsum*, then will I retire abashed from the controversy. But he cannot.

And now for *hŏc*. In a former rebutter or surrebutter, rejoinder or surrejoinder, I gave among other proofs, to shew that Lucilius knew only *hōc*, this plain and relevant one: it occurs in his fragments 8 times before a vowel and is always long. To my dismay Mr Ellis seizes on my argument and, without a word of its being mine, turns it against me by gravely asseverating, without the slightest intimation that he means it for a joke, that, as it occurs 32 times before a consonant, it may be *hŏc* in any of these instances. In these 32 cases 'it occurs in positions which can no more prove that it is long than *nec* could be proved to be so if it preceded a consonant'. Am I to understand then that we have a right to argue that *nec* may be long in Lucilius, on the same grounds that *hoc* may be short? Does Mr Ellis take for sober earnest that well-known law of evidence which I have always considered as a broad jest? I bring forward eight witnesses of truth who swear they saw with their own eyes a murder committed: Mr Ellis brings forward his 32 to prove they did not see it committed, and asks Judge and Jury to pronounce that the weight of evidence is on his side.

I believe that every scholar who has gone through the copious fragments of Lucilius will support me, when I repeat that Lucilius' laws of prosody are identical with those of Virgil and Horace; that the *dicta* of these grammarians, on whom Mr Ellis again dilates, have no more concern with Lucilius than with Shakespeare; and that ignoratio elenchi is a terrible engine for promoting irrelevant discussion.

H. A. J. M.

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CONTENTS.

No. XVIII.

PAGE
NOTES ON ARISTOPHANES ACHARNIANS 1—578. W. G. CLARK 165
CATULLUS 107 7. H. A. J. MUNRO.................................. 195
ON THE ANTHOLOGIA LATINA. R. ELLIS 196
KORAE AND TESIAE. A. W. VERRALL................................ 197
HORATIANA. H. A. J. MUNRO.. 211
SYRIAC ACCENTS. GEO. PHILLIPS.................................... 221
HERACLITUS AND ALBERTUS MAGNUS. I. BYWATER 230
ON PROPERTIUS. R. ELLIS 235
THE TREATY BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE IN THE FIRST CONSULATE. THOS. H. DYER.. 239
NOTE ON PROPERTIUS. F. P. SIMPSON 251
TRACES OF DIFFERENT DIALECTS IN THE LANGUAGE OF HOMER. D. B. MONRO.. 252
THE ROMAN CURIAE. H. F. PELHAM................................. 266
ON THE GENUINENESS OF TIBULLUS IV. 13. J. P. POSTGATE 280
LAST WORDS ON LUCILIUS. R. ELLIS AND H. A. J. MUNRO.. 257

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CONTENTS.

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